FEBRUARY 10, 2020

TIME

Kobe Bryant

1978 – 2020

“When my mom was diagnosed with cancer, I wanted her to have access to the best treatments available.”

SONEQUA MARTIN-GREEN
Stand Up To Cancer Ambassador

Photo By
MATT SAYLES

THAT’S WHY I’M SO PASSIONATE ABOUT EXPANDING AWARENESS OF CLINICAL TRIALS

You want the best treatments for your loved ones. My mom’s cancer was treated using a therapy made possible by clinical trials. I want all people diagnosed with cancer to have access to the treatments that will make them long-term survivors, like my mom.

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Learn more at **StandUpToCancer.org/ClinicalTrials**

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A memorial for Bryant near the Staples Center in Los Angeles

Photograph by Alex Welsh for TIME

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Biden: Photograph by Kelia Anne for TIME

Time (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two weeks in January, March, and December and one week in February, April, May, June, July, August, September, October due to combined issues by Time USA, LLC. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** Send address corrections to Time Magazine, PO BOX 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement # 40069223. BN# 704925882RT0001.
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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

YOUTHQUAKE Readers of all ages learned something from Charlotte Alter's Feb. 3 cover story on millennial leaders changing America. Ryan Dailey, a Chatham, N.J., high school senior and self-described political moderate, wrote, "I may not agree with many of the ideas that the millennial Democrats have, but now I have a better understanding of why they believe what they believe." Cindy Haynes in Bedford, Mass., was so hopeful she "cried with joy," but Peter Graber in Elkhart, Ind., argued that corporations have the real power to make change. Karl Kettler of Stockton, N.J., said every generation changes the world in its own way, and readers like Barbara Albin of Normal, Ill., cautioned against generalizing about boomers. "Some of us are not as selfish as others of our age," she wrote.

> ***'That "progressive earthquake" can't come soon enough.'***
> **SHERRY RIND,** Brier, Wash.

THE FAMILY BUSINESS Brian Bennett's Jan. 27 cover story on media-shy White House adviser Jared Kushner was a source of "valuable new insights into his life and work," said Jan Lupnacca of Rising Sun, Md. Diana Savastano of Johns Creek, Ga., called the profile "fair and balanced," though John Reynolds of Paso Robles, Calif., felt it glorified nepotism. Greg Wilmoth of Chesterfield, Va., was struck by Kushner's telling TIME that President Trump has "rotated out" people on his staff who were "in it" more for themselves than for the President. "Shouldn't they be 'in it,'" he wrote, "for us?"

> ***'Do you suppose Trump will dump Pence from his re-election bid and run with Kushner instead?'***
> **EVELYN S. STEVENS,** Lansing, N.Y.

Davos wrap-up

At 2020's World Economic Forum annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland, TIME hosted events ranging from a conversation with young activists such as Greta Thunberg *(above)* to a kickoff reception co-chaired by will.i.am *(near left)* with a performance by Lukas Nelson *(far left)*.

Also at Davos, TIME's Susanna Schrobsdorff led a panel, produced in partnership with Kaiser Permanente, at which youth-mental-health advocates *(bottom left)* discussed the urgent need to expand care.

KOBE BRYANT The issue of TIME featuring the commemorative cover of Kobe Bryant is available at retailers worldwide. Prints of the cover can be purchased at the TIME cover store (timecoverstore.com). If you are a subscriber who would like the issue with a Kobe Bryant cover and did not receive it, please call 800-843-8463 to have it sent with our compliments.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "Inside Game" (Jan. 27) we misstated a detail about Charles Kushner's guilty plea. He pleaded guilty to setting up his brother-in-law with a prostitute. In the same issue, an essay about U.S. citizenship misstated when Ellis Island opened as an immigration station. It was in 1892.

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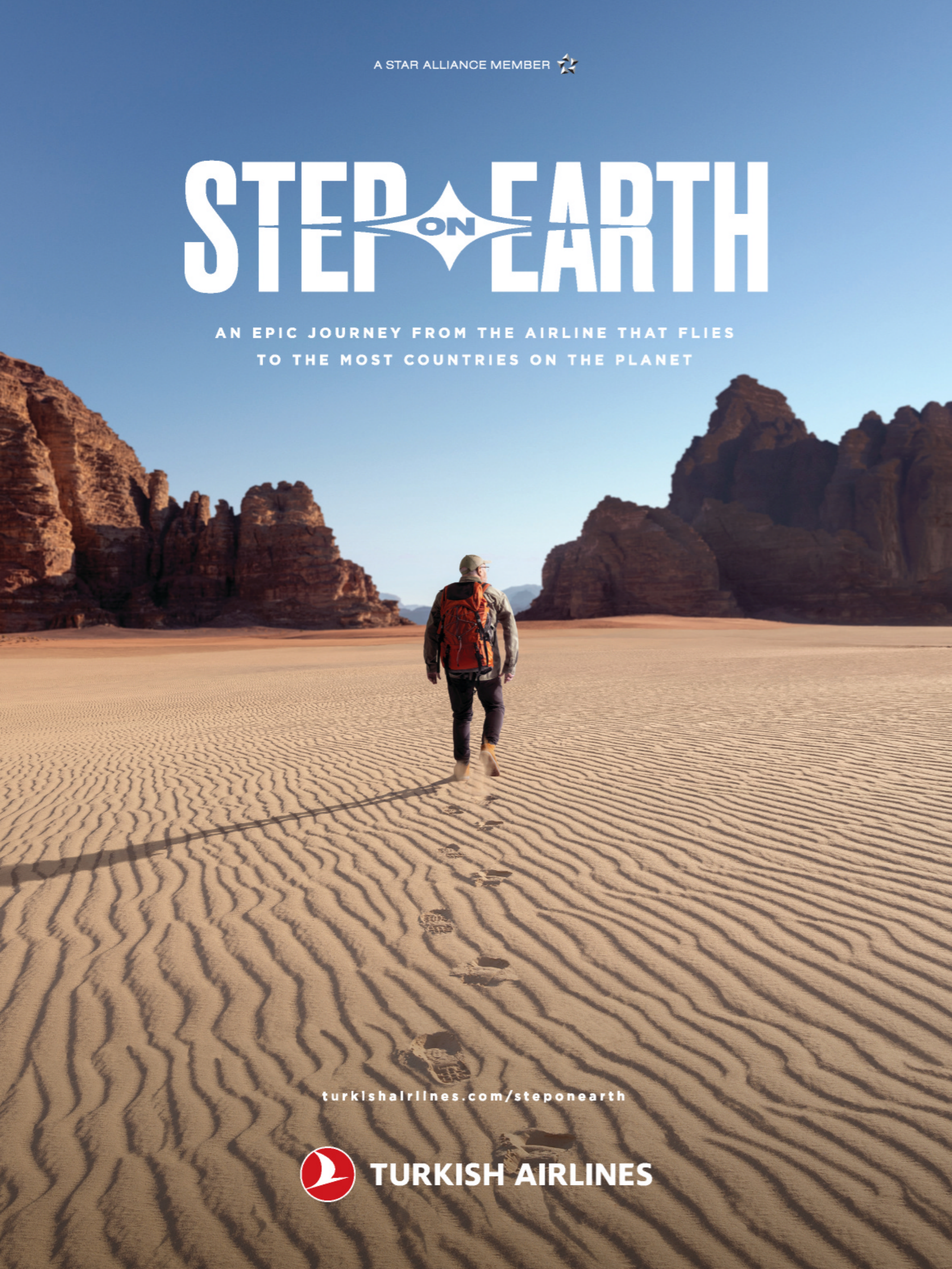
THUNBERG: FABRICE COFFRINI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; NELSON, WILL.I.AM: CAROLINE DYER-SMITH FOR TIME (2); SCHROBSDORFF: JUTTA JACOBI

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

STEP ON EARTH

AN EPIC JOURNEY FROM THE AIRLINE THAT FLIES
TO THE MOST COUNTRIES ON THE PLANET



turkishairlines.com/steponearth

TURKISH AIRLINES

For the Record

'Why did you remove me from the photo? I was part of the group!'

VANESSA NAKATE,
Ugandan climate activist, in a Jan. 24 tweet, after being cropped out of an Associated Press photo of climate activists—among whom she was the only person of color—in Davos, Switzerland; the news agency apologized

Carpool lanes
Arizona police cited a man for driving in the HOV lane with a fake skeleton as a passenger

Traffic lights
A group of Florida friends went viral with a video of themselves playing Uno at a long red light

'IS NOTHING SACRED?'

GEORGE TAKEI,
actor, on the Jan. 24 unveiling of the U.S. military's new Space Force seal and its similarity to the insignia of *Star Trek*'s fictional Starfleet Command

97,112

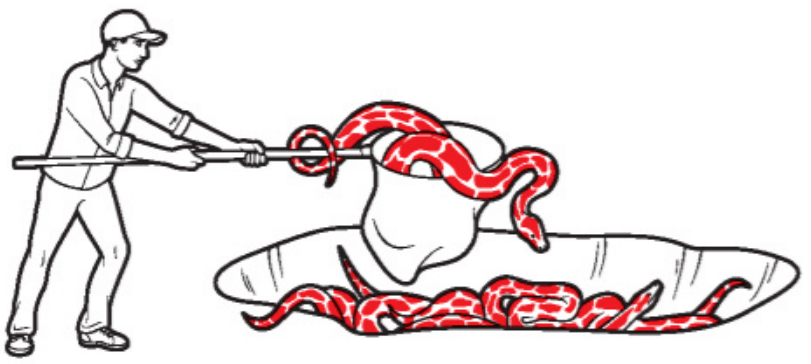
Number of gallons of red wine that spilled into a creek from a winery in Sonoma County, California, after a blending-tank door popped open on Jan. 22

'The people are tired of the abuse.'

IRIS GUARDIOLA,
82, speaking to the Associated Press at a Jan. 23 protest in Puerto Rico, demanding the resignation of Governor Wanda Vázquez over the U.S. territory's handling of disaster aid

80

Number of pythons captured in the Everglades during the 2020 Python Bowl, according to a Jan. 25 Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission announcement; the annual event raises awareness of the threat posed by the invasive species



'He asked, "Do you think Americans care about Ukraine?"'

MARY LOUISE KELLY, NPR host, quoting from her discussion with U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo after they clashed during an interview; Pompeo accused her of lying about their exchange

'It's difficult to describe the pain and loss the Chinatown community is feeling, but we will not be broken.'

MARGARET S. CHIN,
New York City council member, in a Jan. 27 statement after a fire tore through a building housing the archives of the Museum of Chinese in America

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: CNN; NPR; NBC2; AP

The Brief

EYEWITNESS
John Bolton, then National Security Adviser, listens to President Trump during an Oval Office meeting on April 9, 2019

INSIDE

THE BATTLE OVER 5G TECHNOLOGY COMES TO EUROPE

AT HARVEY WEINSTEIN'S TRIAL, MYTHS FACE SCRUTINY

JIM LEHRER'S BEST ADVICE FOR MODERATING A DEBATE

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEX WONG

POLITICS

John Bolton tests the GOP's fealty to Trump

By Vera Bergengruen

JOHN BOLTON IS NOBODY'S IDEA OF A LEFTIST. For the better part of three decades, Donald Trump's former National Security Adviser has been a leading voice for hawkish American foreign policy, arguing for military intervention, railing against treaties and personifying the hard right wing of the Republican Party. So it was a sign of just how fraught Trump's impeachment trial had become in its second week when the President's defenders on cable TV began labeling Bolton a "tool for the left" and suggested he was selling out decades of unwavering ideology for personal enrichment.

The short version of how Bolton became the Trumpists' bête noire is simple. After months of hinting that he had information to share, Bolton announced on Jan. 6 that he would testify at Trump's Senate impeachment trial if subpoenaed, bucking the White House ban on cooperation. Then, on Jan. 26, the New York *Times* revealed that Bolton, in his upcoming book, *The Room Where It Happened,* says Trump personally told him that he was withholding military aid to Ukraine until the country agreed to cooperate in alleging wrongdoing by his Democratic rivals. Suddenly, Bolton was poised to provide eyewitness testimony to the central charge in the Democrats' first article of impeachment. As his book's title wryly notes, he was in the room.

In the arc of the Trump presidency, Bolton now represents the high-water mark in loyalty tests for Trump's followers in Congress. As Trump has hired, fired and humiliated some of the most established GOP national-security figures, many Republicans in the Senate have tried to remain silent, fearing the political cost of crossing a President with more than 80% support in the party. Now, as jurors in the impeachment trial that could decide the fate of the Trump presidency and their own political futures, those same Republicans were being forced to take a side: believe Donald Trump or John Bolton.

THE BOLTON LEAK came at a bad moment for the President, just as his defense lawyers were arguing his side in the Senate trial. Until then, Trump had seemed on course for a quick acquittal, and his legal team all but ignored Bolton's allegation as they took the floor of the chamber the day after his account became public. But outside the Senate chamber the news threw Republicans for a loop.

'They're not anti-Trump people, they're his own appointees.'

SENATOR CHUCK SCHUMER, speaking to reporters on Jan. 28 about potential impeachment-trial witnesses

Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell and other Republican leaders had tried to pre-empt this scenario, nursing a whisper campaign against Bolton's credibility that suggested he was turning on Trump because he had been fired last fall and was trying to goose book sales by offering testimony. McConnell and company urged a united front to block any witnesses at the trial, but at a meeting of the GOP conference on Jan. 28, the normally in-control McConnell admitted he didn't have the votes to block witnesses.

The result has been a barely concealed war between those who want to allow new evidence and those who put defending Trump first. When Senator Mitt Romney of Utah argued that Bolton clearly had "some information that may be relevant" and signaled that he was open to Bolton's testimony, he was publicly slammed by his colleague Senator Kelly Loeffler for wanting to "appease the left." The recently appointed Georgia Republican had supported Romney's 2012 run, but Loeffler's seat is up for election in November, and she could face a Trump-backed challenger.

Romney was not alone. Susan Collins, the Maine moderate, had said she might want to hear from witnesses, as had others, and the Democrats needed only four Republicans to force testimony. But the danger for the GOP was greater than just Bolton's revelations. Democrats want to hear from other key players, including White House chief of staff Mick Mulvaney, who suggested during an Oct. 17 press conference that Trump had offered a quid pro quo to Ukraine. Democrats also had expressed interest in hearing from two other officials involved in holding up the $390 million in congressionally mandated military aid.

The push to win four Republican votes opened up another potential vein of damaging evidence for Democrats to mine in the trial: documents. House impeachment managers had mentioned multiple White House emails related to the holdup of military aid. These documents, which the White House refused to hand over, could prove what more than a dozen officials, Bolton now among them, have said for months: that Trump leveraged the economic and military might of the U.S. to aid his own re-election. That, Democrats argue, is the heart of their charge of abuses of power and the reason Trump must be removed from office.

Democrats would need 20 Republicans to make that happen, and as of Jan. 29 that remained a most remote possibility. But Bolton's account has raised the bar for the GOP's loyalty test in the era of Trump. Bolton served in the administrations of Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, rising to be U.N. ambassador, and ultimately spent 17 months in Trump's White House. If they refuse to hear from Bolton, Republican Senators would be on the record in a way many had hoped to avoid. ☐

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: SCHUMER: ALEX WROBLEWSKI—GETTY IMAGES; AUSCHWITZ: PATRICK VAN KATWIJK—GETTY IMAGES

NEVER FORGET A guard tower at Auschwitz looms during a Jan. 27 ceremony to mark the 75th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi death camp in southern Poland, where roughly 1.1 million people, most of them Jews, were murdered during World War II. More than 200 Holocaust survivors attended the ceremony, along with heads of state and dignitaries. "Do not be indifferent when any minority suffers discrimination," warned Auschwitz survivor Marian Turski, 93.

THE BULLETIN

Britain sides with China in technology cold war

IN THE BATTLE OVER THE NEXT GENERATION of telecommunications, China is winning. On Jan. 28, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson decided not to ban hardware made by the market-leading Chinese firm Huawei as the U.K. builds out its infrastructure for 5G wireless technology. The choice was a blow to the Trump Administration, which has waged a monthslong campaign to persuade allies to shun Huawei—and just lost its closest ally.

SENSITIVE TOPIC Although Johnson needs a post-Brexit trade deal with the U.S., he also promised voters a revolution in Internet speed and coverage. His decision not to ban Huawei—despite warnings of the risk of spying by Beijing—reflects the importance states are placing on the competitive advantage in Internet infrastructure. Huawei is to be limited to a maximum 35% role in the periphery of the U.K.'s 5G network, away from "sensitive" sites like nuclear plants. But on Jan. 29, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo still urged Britain to reconsider its decision.

RISKY BUSINESS In Germany, the same trade-off between economic growth and security is clear, with an added current of fear over Chinese retaliation. (An estimated 900,000 German jobs depend on exports to China.) "I don't think we can quickly build a 5G network in Germany without Huawei taking part," German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer said on Jan. 18. And while new E.U. guidelines allow members to exclude "high-risk" 5G providers, they stop short of recommending a ban on Huawei.

NEW ERA For the past century or more, the cutting edge of technology has been dominated by the U.S. and its allies. Now, thanks to years of research and design subsidized by the Chinese government, Huawei's hardware is cheaper and faster than that of its rivals. That could have lasting effects across the board for U.S. diplomacy. And as China's sway grows, the Washington-London link is unlikely to be the only "special relationship" to come under strain.

—BILLY PERRIGO

NEWS TICKER

Billions of locusts swarm East Africa

Kenya is suffering its worst locust plague in 70 years, **as an insect infestation sweeps across farmland, destroying crops meant to feed millions of people.** The U.N. warned that the locust population could grow up to 500 times after March rains unless pesticides are quickly deployed.

States sue over 3-D-printed-gun rule

Twenty states and Washington, D.C., filed a lawsuit against the Trump Administration on Jan. 23 over a federal rule change they say will allow **schematics for 3-D-printed guns** to be posted online—where, critics argue, they could be used by anyone to make untraceable weapons.

Lawyer: Prince not helping Epstein probe

The U.S. Attorney looking into possible sex trafficking by associates of Jeffrey Epstein accused the U.K.'s Prince Andrew on Jan. 27 of **offering "zero cooperation" to the investigation,** despite his promise to assist. Andrew, who is accused of having sex with a teenage trafficking victim, has denied any wrongdoing.

NEWS TICKER

U.S. discloses Iran missile-strike injuries

Fifty U.S. military personnel suffered **traumatic brain injury** from Iran's missile strike on an air base in Iraq on Jan. 8, though 31 have resumed their duties, the Pentagon said Jan. 28. President Donald Trump initially said no Americans were hurt in the attack and later downplayed the severity of the injuries.

Dozens dead in Brazil landslides

At least 54 people have been killed and more than 30,000 displaced after **heavy rains caused floods and landslides** in southeastern Brazil, the Associated Press reported Jan. 27. Thousands of people were evacuated amid warnings the rainfall could continue.

State Dept. imposes 'birth tourism' rules

A new State Department visa rule, designed to prevent women from traveling to the U.S. to give birth in order to **secure American citizenship for their children,** took effect Jan. 24. Opponents say the change is discriminatory as it may lead some women who are only suspected of being pregnant to be denied visas.

POSTCARD

At Weinstein trial, drama gives way to 'rape myths'

HARVEY WEINSTEIN'S NEW YORK CITY RAPE and sexual-assault trial opened in dramatic fashion. Lines formed before dawn outside the lower-Manhattan courthouse. Protesters bellowed for justice for Weinstein's accusers. A list of possible witnesses promised potential jurors a glimpse of Hollywood A-listers.

But as testimony in the former Miramax chief's trial entered its second week, something other than celebrity took center stage: the myths surrounding sexual assault, including society's assumptions about victim behavior. And while Judge James Burke insisted at the start that this case would not be "a referendum on the #MeToo movement," the issues that came to the fore as a result of that movement have dominated much of the testimony.

"The idea that women respond to sexual assault by screaming, yelling, punching, biting—although that happens, it's rare," forensic psychiatrist Barbara Ziv explained from the witness stand on Jan. 24. Ziv, an expert witness for the prosecution, dismissed the "rape myths" that she said society clings to: that most assaults are committed by strangers, that victims scream and try to run away and that they immediately report assaults.

The day before, defense attorney Donna Rotunno had quizzed the first accuser to take the stand, actor Annabella Sciorra, about her behavior on the night more than 25 years ago when she says Weinstein pushed his way into her apartment and raped her. Throughout her questioning, Rotunno touched on issues that Weinstein hopes will cast doubt in jurors' minds, including why Sciorra didn't immediately call the police, 911 or a hospital after the alleged attack.

While Sciorra's alleged attack occurred too long ago for Weinstein to be charged with raping her, the actor's testimony is key to prosecutors' attempts to show a pattern of abuse. (The actual charges he is facing in this trial stem from an alleged rape in 2013 and an alleged sexual assault in 2006; Weinstein denies all allegations of nonconsensual sexual contact.) Prosecutors got a boost when two of Sciorra's friends, fellow actor Rosie Perez and former model Kara Young, testified about what Sciorra had done and said to them at the time.

Weinstein, appearing to chew gum, watched the testimony quietly as the seven-man, five-woman jury listened intently and took notes—but as the trial delved into these crucial questions about sexual trauma and its often paralyzing effect on victims, fewer people were watching than before. While spectators had at first queued up to gain access to the trial, interest appeared to drop off after opening statements. Instead of a crushing crowd, there were empty seats in the courtroom. The protesters who gathered outside the courthouse during jury selection had disappeared, and Weinstein arrived without having to listen to demonstrators' cries for his conviction. —MELISSA CHAN

GRAMMAR

To phrase a coin

A new coin *(left)* commemorating Britain's Jan. 31 exit from the E.U. came under fire for not including an Oxford comma in its inscription—"Peace, prosperity and friendship with all nations." Here, more problematic punctuation. *—Melissa Godin*

DAIRY DILEMMA
In 2018, a dairy company in Portland, Maine, agreed to pay $5 million in unpaid overtime to its drivers, who had filed a lawsuit over the lack of a comma in a labor law about exempted tasks. Maine legislators rephrased the law.

EXPENSIVE ERRATA
James Joyce wrote *Ulysses* by hand, and the typists who transcribed the pages introduced more than 5,000 errors—including extra punctuation. Correcting them for a new edition in 1984 cost scholars $300,000 of work.

FRUIT FAUX PAS
In 1872, a comma mistakenly placed between *fruit* and *plants* in the 13th U.S. tariff act led to certain fruits' becoming exempt from tariffs—and a loss of $2 million in tax dollars, a massive sum at the time.

COIN: HM TREASURY/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; LEHRER: JOSHUA ROBERTS—REDUX

ARRESTED
Charles Lieber, the **chair of Harvard's chemistry department,** on Jan. 28, for allegedly lying about his ties to a Chinese government program designed to recruit foreign scientific experts. Lieber has previously denied the affiliation.

SPOTTED
Three **Bolivian Cochran frogs,** a rare species with translucent skin, by conservationists, for the first time in 18 years, according to reports Jan. 28.

RELEASED
U.S. **environmental journalist Philip Jacobson,** on Jan. 24, after being jailed for three days in Indonesia for allegedly violating the terms of his visa; advocates called his arrest an attack on press freedom.

CAPTURED
Fugitive former **Colombian Senator Aída Merlano,** in Venezuela, on Jan. 27, nearly four months after she escaped custody during a dentist visit, while serving a 15-year sentence for vote buying.

SENTENCED
Libyan militant Mustafa al-Imam, to more than 19 years in prison, on Jan. 23, for his role in the 2012 Benghazi attacks.

SUED
Imprisoned former pharmaceutical executive **Martin Shkreli,** by federal and New York State authorities, for alleged anti-competitive practices, on Jan. 27.

Lehrer at his office in Arlington, Va., in 2008

DIED

Jim Lehrer

Eminent anchor

By Bob Schieffer

IN 1963, I WORKED AS A REPORTER AT THE FORT WORTH *STAR-Telegram* and Jim Lehrer worked at the Dallas *Times Herald,* and we both covered the Kennedy assassination—but it was only after we came to Washington, D.C., that we became good friends. Jim, who died Jan. 23 at 85, was a guy I always looked up to.

So when I was chosen to moderate my first presidential debate in 2004, he was the first person I called. I said, "How do I do this?" and he said, "Remember, it's not about you." That was the best advice anybody could possibly give me, and for every other person down through the years who called me to ask for advice on how to moderate a presidential debate, I told them the same.

The integrity and the objectivity he displayed had set the tone for those debates—not just one but all of them. Jim had great respect for his viewers and for his readers; he thought they should be allowed to make up their minds, and he didn't try to push his views. He just asked the questions, and he always did his homework. That sometimes is a little rare these days, but I still think that's what reporters are supposed to do. I mean this literally: he was the most objective person I have ever dealt with. And what you saw on television was exactly what you'd see if you ran into Jim in the grocery store. He was a real person. Sometimes people you see on TV aren't. We don't run around telling people that, but we all know—and he was the real deal.

Schieffer, *a veteran CBS News reporter, was an anchor of* Face the Nation *for 24 years*

AWARDED

New Kid

First Newbery Medal for a graphic novel

By Raina Telgemeier

WHEN JERRY CRAFT BECAME the very first graphic novelist to receive a Newbery Medal, he shattered a glass ceiling for cartoonists, who have long been looked at as producing "lesser" literature than their prose-writing siblings. I am so proud of him. The Jan. 27 announcement that the prestigious prize for American children's literature will go to his *New Kid,* the story of a seventh-grader who doesn't fit in at his mostly white private school, is a victory for Jerry and for the art form of comics.

Jerry's win (after many, many years of hard work) proves once and for all that comics and graphic novels are real books, real reading, and really and truly deserve shelf space front and center. It has been a joy to watch sequential art evolve and to see the warm reception graphic novels have received from young readers and awards committees alike! How joyous that when children read *New Kid* in decades to come, they will feel the tactile merit of the golden sticker on its cover.

Telgemeier *is the Eisner Award–winning author of the best-selling graphic novel* Guts

CBS Evening News anchor **Norah O'Donnell** says 'down the middle' is still the best way to report

By Eliana Dockterman

NORAH O'DONNELL IS TESTING OUT THE COLOR-changing lights in her new Washington, D.C., studio. Using an iPhone, she highlights the stage with red then purple then green. "We can have photos on the floor too," she says. "Or graphs. With the election, there are a lot of options."

The studio is sparkling white, like the inside of an Apple Store, a physical manifestation of a fresh start for a network that has struggled with a series of sexual-harassment scandals and a drop in the ratings in the past few years. O'Donnell took over as anchor of the *CBS Evening News* in July and eagerly agreed to the suggestion from the new CBS News president, Susan Zirinsky, to move the show from New York City to the nation's capital in December in hopes of boosting the ratings. O'Donnell had first risen to prominence as a White House correspondent, and her husband, chef Geoff Tracy, operates a restaurant group based in D.C.

Though some media prognosticators called the shake-up "a risk," O'Donnell shares much in common with her venerated predecessors, including Walter Cronkite, once famously dubbed "the most trusted man in America." Her high-tech studio notwithstanding, O'Donnell is an old-school journalist operating in a world that's increasingly hostile to that type of newscaster. She prides herself on her shoe-leather reporting skills. She still reads six hard-copy newspapers every morning. On Twitter, she doesn't spout opinions or share personal anecdotes, just stories from CBS.

"My parents are scientists. We're fact-based people," she says. "I was never someone who was siloed into a certain group, ideologically or just growing up. I did theater, and I did cheerleading. I went to Catholic church camp and Baptist church camp. I don't judge. I'm naturally curious."

Nonjudgmental, neutral, reliable—these aren't the most exciting ways to brand a broadcast in any era, but it's a particularly difficult sell in 2020 when audiences are largely looking to affirm their own views: a 2019 Pew study found 55% of Americans get their news from social media, an 8% increase over the prior year. Facebook and Twitter feeds tend to be either red or blue, full of articles posted by friends hailing from similar backgrounds who share similar political opinions. "Social media is driven by an algorithm. It learns what you like and feeds it back to you. It reinforces our political beliefs," she says. "*CBS Evening News* is not driven by an algorithm."

And yet the same divide is reflected on the networks that CBS News competes with for viewers. O'Donnell argues that by staying neutral, at the risk of losing more partisan audience members to MSNBC or Fox, CBS can snag interviews with world leaders, even the most divisive ones. "We are right down the middle," she says, adding, "It's why Joe Biden sat down with me. It's why [Saudi Crown Prince] Mohammed bin Salman, one of the most scrutinized leaders in the world, sat down with me twice." O'Donnell prides herself on asking the hard questions, and quickly. Her first query posed to bin Salman on *60 Minutes* was whether he ordered the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, which the CIA has concluded the crown prince did. (The crown prince "took responsibility" but denied ordering the execution.)

O'DONNELL TOOK OVER the *Evening News* at a particularly precarious time for CBS. Back in 2012, O'Donnell shared a desk with Gayle King and Charlie Rose as the co-anchors of *CBS This Morning*. Their chemistry buoyed the program's ratings. But in 2017, Rose was accused of sexual misconduct at CBS during the first wave of the #MeToo movement. O'Donnell and King had to announce and react to the news on the air. True to both of their brands, O'Donnell dealt out the facts with a poker face, while King processed the news emotionally, trying to reconcile her friendship with Rose with the allegations.

Rose's fall was just the beginning. Sexual-harassment scandals felled CBS News chairman Jeff Fager and CBS CEO and chairman Les Moonves, and former employees reported a toxic culture that pervaded the network. CBS was not the only network forced to contend with #MeToo: Fox News and NBC made headlines for sexual-harassment allegations too.

Even as CBS struggled with the fallout, O'Donnell was reporting on the #MeToo movement outside of media. O'Donnell, who grew up in a military family, won an Emmy Award in 2018 for a story on a sex-abuse scandal at the U.S. Air Force Academy. "I firmly believe sunlight is the best disinfectant," she says of reporting on that story. "There's no harder interview to do than that, and to try to help [survivors] tell their story in a way that not only reveals what happened to them, but hopefully ushers in change, because that's also part of it … making sure that something changes."

Yet she's circumspect on the topic of whether things are changing at CBS News itself. "I'm sort of done with that story," she says. "I want to be judged for my work." But she did have a hot-mic

O'DONNELL QUICK FACTS

Digital reach
Her interview with Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has more than 700,000 views on YouTube.

Off the air
O'Donnell and her husband, chef Geoff Tracy, published a baby-food cookbook in 2010.

First job
O'Donnell started her career covering Congress for the newspaper *Roll Call*.

JARED SOARES FOR TIME

moment when reporting on a sexual-harassment story last year. Some listeners believe they heard her say, "Sounds like someone else here."

O'DONNELL INSISTS that she does not feel like she is on the edge of a glass cliff, thrust forward as the female face of a network plagued by men's wrongdoings. The move to D.C. has strengthened viewership numbers. The broadcast drew 6.8 million viewers one evening in December, a peak for the show since O'Donnell took over, though it still trails ABC's and NBC's programs. Ratings declines have slowed across the network, including on *CBS This Morning,* where King has lured younger viewers with high-profile interviews, like a sit-down with R. Kelly after a documentary accused the R&B musician of sexual assault. O'Donnell credits the progress CBS News has made to its new president, notorious workhorse Zirinsky. O'Donnell says Zirinsky connects with everyone in the building, which builds a sense of community and accountability. "I've never seen so much cultural change in such a short period of time," she says. "Leadership matters. If the boss cares, if she's there late every night, talking to every reporter, every producer, every janitor—if the boss cares, everyone cares."

'I've never seen so much cultural change in such a short period of time.'

NORAH O'DONNELL, on CBS News under its new president, Susan Zirinsky

Zirinsky—famously the inspiration for Holly Hunter's ridiculously efficient character in *Broadcast News*—has spent 45 years at CBS and, when Fager was dismissed, was brought in to clean up the mess. Zirinsky has said she was asked to take the job before but was loath to give up her hands-on role as a producer. She's retained that title and spends every night in the control room while O'Donnell records her show. "I'm sorry, but no other president of the network is in the control room of both their morning show and their evening news show every day," says O'Donnell.

It's a good thing too. Before O'Donnell's move to D.C., a soundboard in the New York City studio caught fire during a broadcast of the *Evening News*. Zirinsky jumped into action. "She's down in the basement on West 57th Street with a dozen guys telling them what to do and taking pictures," says O'Donnell. One more fire out, the hope is that the story moves elsewhere. ☐

TIME

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The View

SOCIETY

DO YOU HAVE ENOUGH TIME?

By James Wallman

In the 2010s, we worried about too much stuff. A growing awareness of consumerism's effect on the environment and a desire to broadcast our lives on social media led us to prioritize experience over things, and millions turned to Marie Kondo and minimalism. Now we've started to worry about something new: too little time.

INSIDE

REFLECTIONS ON A LANDMARK LGBTQ CASE

TRUMP'S MIDDLE EAST PEACE PLAN

MAKING MEMES MORE ACCESSIBLE

Psychologists have found that experiences are more likely than material goods to deliver happiness—another reason we were content to shed anything that didn't spark joy—but of course we must make choices about which experiences to pursue. The fear of making the wrong one, and therefore wasting valuable time, is something many of us feel deeply.

There's some irony to this predicament: We have more free time now than we have had in decades. But for a number of reasons, it doesn't feel that way.

In his 2019 book *Spending Time,* Daniel S. Hamermesh explains that while our life spans have gotten a bit longer—13% since 1960—our spending power has surged by 198%. "It makes it difficult to stuff all the things that we want and can now afford into the growing, but increasingly relatively much more limited, time that we have available to purchase and to enjoy them over our lifetimes," he writes.

Next, there's our cell-phone addiction. American adults spend around 3½ hours on their devices each day, trying to keep up with the volume of emails, texts, social-media updates and 24/7 news. And much of our time is "contaminated time"—when we're doing one thing but thinking about something else. Trying to get more miles out of every minute—scanning Twitter while watching TV, for example—makes us think we're being productive, but really it just makes us feel more frazzled.

Add to this the ever expanding options in today's experience economy. Think of all the pop-ups, plays, talks, workshops and escape rooms you could go to tonight.

No wonder many of us suffer from what psychologists call "time famine." No wonder we're seeing books about reclaiming our time, like Brigid Schulte's *Overwhelmed* and Jenny Odell's *How to Do Nothing,* and about loosening the grip of cell phones, like Adam Alter's *Irresistible,* Nir Eyal's *Indistractable* and Cal Newport's *Digital Minimalism.*

There have been calls to rein in the attention economy, like Tristan Harris' Time Well Spent movement, but the factors that make us feel time-poor aren't going away anytime soon. Tech companies, for instance, may have built apps to tell you how much time you spend on your device, but their business models rely on your continued use.

PEOPLE WHO FEEL strapped for time are more likely to be anxious or depressed. They are less likely to exercise or eat healthy foods. And they're less productive at work. It makes sense then that there's been growing interest from psychologists in the best ways to spend our time. (*Current Opinion in Psychology*'s April 2019 edition was simply called "Time.")

In my own writing on the topic, I have come to characterize experiences as "junk food" or "superfood." Junk? Spending too much time indoors, alone, scrolling Facebook or watching TV. Superfood? Getting offline and outside and, as UCLA associate professor of marketing Cassie Mogilner Holmes notes in her 2019 paper "It's Time for Happiness," doing things for or with others and staying active.

Of course, these experiences require that we actually take time off—not easy in a culture obsessed with productivity. After all, 55% of Americans don't use all their paid vacation time. But researchers say sometimes it's about reframing how we think about leisure activities. Columbia's Silvia Bellezza, Harvard's Anat Keinan and Georgetown's Neeru Paharia have found that a "functional alibi" can be helpful: we're more likely to go camping if we acknowledge it will be good for our productivity at work. Similarly, Keinan and Columbia's Ran Kivetz have observed that we often opt for "collectible experiences" that give us a story to tell and help build our "experiential CV," as we like to feel we're accomplishing something. They have also argued that while we often think we're being virtuous by choosing work over leisure, in the long term we're likely to regret this and feel as if we've missed out on "the pleasures of life."

Time is our least renewable resource. Despite the stress our fixation on it may cause, it's good for us to consider if we're using it wisely.

Wallman is the author of Time and How to Spend It: The 7 Rules for Richer, Happier Days

4.9 HOURS

Average time women spent on leisure activities each day in 2018

5.7 HOURS

Average time men spent on leisure activities each day in 2018

55%

Percentage of Americans who don't use all their paid time off

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Being yourself

Novelist Marlon James moved to the U.S. just a few years after *Lawrence v. Texas,* the Supreme Court case that struck down laws prohibiting people of the same gender from engaging in sexual activity. It still gets pushback, **"but what drew me to these United States," he writes, "was the idea that simply being myself was protected by law, even if at the time I didn't know what that self was."**

Doing the right thing

Some people say Presidents use moral arguments in foreign policy to justify their personal or national interests. Joseph S. Nye Jr., author of *Do Morals Matter?,* says they're wrong. **"Principle and prudence sometimes conflict, but they can also reinforce each other," he writes.**

Facing history

Germany is often praised for owning up to its Nazi past, but the reality is more complicated. According to historian Jacob S. Eder, **"while it is inconceivable to encounter a monument dedicated to a Nazi leader in Berlin or Munich, the countryside leaves more room for ambivalence."**

THE RISK REPORT

Trump's Middle East plan acknowledges Israel's primacy

By Ian Bremmer

THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION'S Israel-Palestine peace plan tears up the playbook of prior U.S. policy. Rather than fairness, it is built upon the recognition of Israeli power on the ground and shifts in the region's geopolitics.

With continued expansion over the past two decades, Israelis have been making the West Bank their own. The plan also underscores the reality that Palestinian leaders have lost the active support of much of the Arab world, many of whose leaders would like to work more closely with Israel on countering Iran and other initiatives.

For Palestinians, the plan imposes Israeli bargaining positions from earlier negotiations: a nominally sovereign state of Palestine with a capital on the outskirts of East Jerusalem. Both Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his chief rival, Benny Gantz, are on board.

The Trump team is wagering that more geopolitical honesty will change the game in the region. Previous U.S. governments presented themselves as neutral arbiters between Israelis and Palestinians; neither side took that claim seriously. This new deal aims to contain, rather than reduce, Israeli settlements, giving Palestinians a smaller plot of land for their state, about 70% of the West Bank. Once the plan is formally implemented by the Israeli government, Israel would freeze settlement construction for four years in areas that would become the state of Palestine.

TAKEN WITHIN THE CONTEXT of the rest of Trump's foreign policy, this deal is an outlier. The plan is detailed and thoughtful, unlike the agreement announced with North Korea. Most surprising, one of the most unilaterally oriented Administrations has taken a multilateral approach to resolving one of the world's thorniest conflicts by getting other Arab states to buy into the proposal.

To entice the Palestinians, the Trump Administration has pledged to drum up investments of $28 billion over 10 years to support Palestine, with $22 billion of additional funding going to Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon.

Many Palestinians will likely not accept anything that smells like a payoff, especially when it includes so many poison pills. First, before Palestinians can unlock any benefit, the Hamas government in Gaza must renounce its anti-Israel ideology or somehow be removed from power. Second, the Trump plan would allow the state of Palestine to build a capital on the outskirts of East Jerusalem but only in areas east of the existing separation barrier. Third, the state of Palestine would control just 70% of the West Bank, in contrast to the 94% to 96% proposed by Bill Clinton in 2000. Finally, the Administration's limits on the Palestinian "right of return," even within a sovereign Palestinian nation, is a serious obstacle for any truly free country.

The Administration's limits on the Palestinian 'right of return,' even within a sovereign Palestinian nation, is a serious obstacle for any truly free country

It's clear that this proposal will not lead to peace in the coming months—or maybe ever. The Palestinians rejected the plan, and their leaders will make their anger clear. According to my conversations with senior Trump Administration officials, they have already told Israeli and Arab leaders that territory is specifically open for negotiation should the Palestinians decide to engage after having refused to talk for more than two years.

This plan is central to Trump's Middle East strategy. As the conflict becomes more marginal to the interests of the region's key actors, and the U.S. has generally become less interested too, Arab-Israeli normalization is only a matter of time, and the Palestinians are at risk of missing that train. □

KID: LANEY GRINER; MEME: COLE GLEASON

TECH

Making memes accessible

While blind and visually impaired people use special software to navigate the Internet, they are often left out of the conversation when it comes to the thousands of viral images that spread like wildfire on social media.

Now researchers—from companies like Twitter, Facebook and Reddit—are proposing ways to make memes more inclusive. One group, from Carnegie Mellon University and Columbia University, recently developed a program that uses audio as a means for translating popular memes.

Advocates hope that up-and-coming tech innovators will embrace the issue, though experts note that fun activities—including meme culture—that aren't necessary for daily life often get put on the back burner.

"They can be cute or hilarious, but I feel like people also use them to really communicate what the world we live in now is like," Tasha Chemel, an academic coach who is blind, told TIME. "So it's really hard to be left out of that conversation."

—Rachel E. Greenspan

The world of finance groggily awakens to climate change

By Justin Worland/Davos, Switzerland

Georgieva took office as managing director of the International Monetary Fund in October

FOR YEARS, CLIMATE ACTIVISTS HAVE WARNED THAT A warming planet would bring devastation, disrupting not only developing countries and coastal communities but also the foundations of the global economy. Still, investors continue to pump billions of dollars into fossil fuels, governments prioritize policies to keep cheap oil flowing, and developers build on land that scientists say will soon be underwater.

Kristalina Georgieva, 66, the environmental economist who took the helm as managing director of the International Monetary Fund in October, has spent much of her career studying the problem. Now, she says, a slew of climate-related disasters have finally awakened the financial sector and the economic leaders who guide it. "The tide is turning," she told TIME in a Jan. 23 interview at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

Georgieva plans to take advantage of this moment. The new chief of the IMF described a range of measures the global financial institution will take to prioritize climate change during her five-year term: supporting policies that require investors to disclose climate vulnerability, measuring a country's financial situation in part by its preparation for climate change, pushing countries around the globe to implement a carbon tax. "We have to create the right policy environment that is based on sound economics," she says. "I'm prioritizing this for the Fund."

At a time when much of the climate conversation centers on flashy policy prescriptions like the Green New Deal proposed by congressional Democrats, the climate policy of the IMF and the changing tune of the financial sector may sound wonky. But the climate challenge is unlikely to be met without the financial sector—and the authorities that regulate and govern it—on the right side of the fight. For decades, banks have given fossil-fuel companies the financing to mine and drill; meanwhile, governments have provided seemingly bottomless subsidies, some $5 trillion annually, the IMF said last year. At the same time, banks have largely ignored the risk that climate change poses to their customers, from businesses in the flood zone to homes in fire-prone areas.

At Davos, there were hints this may be changing. Just a few days before the conference, BlackRock, the world's largest asset manager, said climate change would lead to a "fundamental reshaping of finance" and promised to rethink its strategy. Microsoft pledged to go carbon-negative in a decade and remove by 2050 a sum of carbon equivalent to all that the company has ever emitted. The value of assets under management in the Net-Zero Asset Owner Alliance, a group of investors committed to having a zero-emissions portfolio by 2050, grew to more than $4.3 trillion. And the IMF warned that climate change "already endangers health and economic outcomes."

"I don't want to be naive, but I want to acknowledge that the center of the global economy is now saying things that many of us have dreamed they might for a long time," former Vice President Al Gore said at a dinner at Davos convened by WWF. "They're saying them forcefully and eloquently."

TWO BROAD CLIMATE RISKS dominated the discussion among corporate executives and investors in Davos: physical risk and so-called transition risk. The former is obvious. Climate change drives extreme weather events and disasters, from flooding and drought to wildfires and heat waves, which can destroy infrastructure and devastate economies. IMF data shows that even seven years after a devastating tropical storm, a country's GDP per capita remains 1% lower than it would have been otherwise.

Transition risk refers to the possibility that companies may get left behind

SIKARIN FON THANACHAIARY—WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Insuring a Sustainable Future

Since its establishment as Japan's first fire-insurance company in 1888, SOMPO has expanded its presence in 15 markets across Asia, including the renewable energy market. As we transition to a decarbonized society, the number of companies entering the renewable energy business is increasing. SOMPO Group provides not only life and non-life insurance products for renewable energy power generation companies, but also risk-assessment services to corporate companies such as strategic location recommendations for business facilities to encourage the expansion of renewable energy.

With all this disruption, sustainability offers one of the key ways we can leverage technology to move the world forward. So how do we harness and embrace these seismic changes and potential uncertainties? Especially within Asia where, according to a recent McKinsey report, the diversity in economic development has made the region the center of gravity fueling globalization.

According to IMF reports in September 2018, Southeast Asia – where agriculture is a core industry – is also one of the regions that is most vulnerable to the direct and indirect impact of climate change on the macro economy. As the concern for natural disasters caused by climate change has intensified in recent years, SOMPO has made efforts to combat risks that impact agricultural communities in particular. One way SOMPO has done this involves the launch of AgriSompo. By combining technology and extensive technical expertise with specialized capabilities, AgriSompo provides integrated solutions to agricultural business risks posed by climate change.

In February 2019, SOMPO in Thailand launched the Longan Parametric Weather Insurance to cover longan farmers in Thailand, where longan is a major export crop, from the impact of drought and other weather risks. Satellite data was also gathered and utilized to develop the innovative technology used to create this product.

By employing advanced digital technology, such as artificial intelligence (AI), to enhance regional disaster prevention capabilities, SOMPO is seeking to provide even more cutting edge solutions to customers. For example,in a business alliance with Silicon Valley-based start-ups One Concern and Weathernews, SOMPO led the development of Japan's first disaster preparedness and mitigation system using advanced digital technology. Verification testing for this inaugural project was carried out in Kumamoto City in March 2019. By conducting progressive and detailed disaster simulations, SOMPO aims to create disaster-resistant cities and protect the interests of local communities.

Another example comes from the lessons learned in the Thailand floods of 2011 that caused tremendous damage to industrial areas. SOMPO helped enhance customer response capabilities through the formulation of a business continuity plan (BCP) supporting customers across Asia. In the event of future flooding, Sompo will provide recovery support that allows businesses to resume operations promptly. Furthermore, SOMPO offers risk survey services utilizing flood risk modeling and mapping for customers to mitigate any damage caused by future disasters.

SOMPO will continue to provide innovative products and services that utilize cutting edge digital technologies to contribute to a sustainable society that transcends borders and regions, safekeeping the security, health and wellbeing of every stakeholder.

SOMPO HOLDINGS

as the world goes green—the industry driven out of business by new regulation, for example, or the technology made obsolete by new advances. Not to mention the brand tarnished by growing activist (and consumer) revolt.

Companies have been aware of these risks for years, in some cases decades, but executives have always seen managing them as a balancing act. Move too quickly and risk leaving behind your core business. Move too slowly and risk getting left behind.

But the swiftness and severity of recent climate events, along with the growing social pressure, have made the biggest companies and investors realize they've been too conservative, leaving them out of step with colossal changes that are already under way. "The degree of capital reallocation and the speed of that is going to be larger and happen more quickly than most market participants expect," Brian Deese, BlackRock's global head of sustainable investing, told TIME in Davos.

Georgieva wants to nudge the system along to make countries and companies acknowledge the threat climate change poses to their bottom lines. For years, the IMF has tested small islands for their exposure; this year it will do the same for Japan, building on pilots done in other advanced economies. At Davos, she endorsed the work central banks are doing to measure how climate change might impact portfolios.

Tackling climate change isn't all bad news for the economy, Georgieva says, as a transition to clean energy sources creates new economic opportunity. "If we really have the courage to move, it may be the silver bullet that boosts the economy," she says.

THE NEWFOUND URGENCY of the climate discussion at Davos reflects the reality facing economic leaders. Nonetheless, challenges remain. So far it's mostly just talk, of course. And for all the executives and investors who say they will tackle climate change, there are others who want to squeeze out the last few dollars in the fossil-fuel era. "This is a whole-of-economy transition, and in every sector of the economy there are companies that will be part of the solution and there will be companies that, for whatever reason, lag," Mark Carney, governor of the Bank of England, said at a panel hosted by Bloomberg in Davos.

The companies that have made bold promises still need to deliver on them. As the teenage activist Greta Thunberg said in perhaps her most publicized moment of the week, "Pretty much nothing has been done, since the global emissions of CO_2 have not reduced."
In fact, global temperatures are on track for a rise of 3°C since the Industrial Revolution, even if governments follow through on their current commitments, blowing past the Paris Agreement's target of keeping the temperature rise well below 2°C.

> ***'If we really have the courage to move, it may be the silver bullet that boosts the economy.'***
>
> **KRISTALINA GEORGIEVA,** IMF managing director, on measures to tackle climate change

Jennifer Morgan, executive director of Greenpeace International, described the dynamic as a "tension" between companies that see themselves as part of the solution and "an old energy" driving companies that operate with business-as-usual assumptions. A Greenpeace International report released during Davos showed that 24 banks in attendance this year financed the fossil-fuel industry to the tune of $1.4 trillion from the adoption of the Paris Agreement to 2018.

Even as some investors start to step up to change that tide, Georgieva says the transition needs a push from leaders in government, beyond voluntary disclosures of climate risks. "To accelerate progress toward low-carbon, climate-resilient investments, it would be prudent to move toward mandatory disclosure," the Bulgarian said. "It is a welcome sign that some central banks are going in that direction."

For all the ardent declarations of intention at Davos, the true test lies in the months to come. This year will be a critical test of global commitments, as governments prepare to make new pledges to reduce emissions ahead of November's U.N. climate conference in Glasgow. Davos was a good start; leaders are talking. Now they need to act. ◻

Camping out for climate

A SHORT RIDE UP a funicular from the conference in Davos, an unusual scene: a group of scientists and youth activists camped alongside the actor Rainn Wilson, who rose to fame playing the quirky Dwight Schrute in *The Office*.
The goal of this unlikely encampment? To teach people about how the changing Arctic is reshaping global weather systems.
Since the project—part educational pop-up, part protest—first came to Davos in 2017, the organizers have attracted an array of world leaders, from former Vice President Al Gore, who sought out the campers, to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who happened to pass by. When I visited, former Icelandic President Olafur Ragnar Grimsson had just finished a tour. "We're speaking science to power," says Arctic Basecamp founder Gail Whiteman. Wilson, who joined the camp for the first time this year, muses about what his character would think. Dwight, he decides, would probably embrace the threat that climate change poses to his beloved beet farm. "I think he would ultimately be on our side," he said. —*Justin Worland*

Wilson camped out at Davos with other activists

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CONTAINING A CRISIS

ARE WE DOOMED TO A FUTURE OF RELENTLESS VIRAL OUTBREAKS?

BY ALICE PARK AND CHARLIE CAMPBELL/WUHAN

A thermographic monitor records temperature in Celsius of passengers arriving at the Sultan Iskandar Muda International Airport in Banda Aceh, Indonesia, on Jan. 27

PHOTOGRAPH BY
ZIKRI MAULANA

THE YEAR OF THE RAT IS OFF TO AN OMINOUS START.

"We just stay home and don't go out," says Mr. Dong. The 33-year-old researcher, who provided only one name, has no other options. He, his wife and their 3-month-old daughter live in Wuhan, the epicenter of an unfolding global health crisis. They're treating the forced time at home as a holiday, though he says, "this is different than any of them before." Families like his huddle in their homes, fearful that if they venture out, they will get sick. Since the first cases of a previously unknown pneumonia-like illness emerged in December, Wuhan, the capital of Hubei province, has frozen in place. Ten-lane thoroughfares lie empty after a ban on personal cars, and buses and subways sit silent. Lunar New Year 2020 was stripped of its traditional fireworks, boisterous gatherings around overflowing tables of food and drink, and happy reunions with family and friends.

As researchers and public-health officials scramble to learn as much as they can about the new virus—how easily it transmits among people, and how deadly it is—fears swamp this city of 11 million. The disease responsible is caused by a coronavirus that's never infected people before. Conflicting advice about how infectious the virus might be are swirling through the Internet, along with misinformation about exactly where the virus, dubbed 2019-nCoV, came from. Hospitals in Wuhan are besieged by the sick, and only a handful of clinics are able to test for the disease.

Coronaviruses make up a family of viruses that live mainly in animals (bats are a favorite) but also includes strains that contribute to the common cold in people. Only recently have they become more threatening, causing two deadly global pandemics in the past two decades—severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2002 and 2003, and Middle East respiratory syndrome (MERS) in 2012. Each new outbreak adds a fresh urgency to the question of whether public-health officials could be doing more to confront the threat from emerging infections in general, and coronaviruses in particular.

The numbers will have climbed by the time you read this, but as of Jan. 29, the new virus had claimed at least 133 lives and sickened more than 6,000 people across 18 countries, including at least five cases in the U.S. While the World Health Organization (WHO) has not declared a "public-health emergency of international concern"—which would entail more stringent monitoring and containment of infected people—China's President Xi Jinping is treating it as a national emergency. He ordered an unprecedented quarantine of Wuhan, banning travel in and out of the city on Jan. 22; a few days later, he extended the quarantine to a dozen cities in Hubei province. Xi also took the unusual step of extending the official Lunar New Year holiday to discourage millions from traveling back to work and further seeding new infections around China.

Faster than the virus itself, fear has spread around the globe. In the U.S., designated airports quickly instituted screening programs to identify passengers on Wuhan-originating flights with signs of fever, cough or difficulty breathing, and to immediately direct them to hospital isolation wards. Numerous airlines canceled flights to and from China. Asian stock markets that weren't closed for the Lunar New Year plummeted. In the U.S., Europe and Asia, shortages of surgical face masks were reported.

The emergence of a powerful new infectious virus for which there is (as yet) no vaccine should scare us, of course. But at the same time, humans are better equipped to fight these kinds of outbreaks than ever before. New technologies, specifically ones that make possible the sequencing of any living thing's genetic blueprint, are finally giving us a meaningful advantage over microbes. We can map the genome of a virus, for example, which provides valuable clues about how it spreads and helps us figure out how our immune systems can best battle it. The finest scientific minds are doing just that with coronaviruses in the hope that epidemics do not have a chance to mushroom into pandemics.

The question now is how quickly we can transmit that knowledge to every corner of the world, especially to China, where in some places the flow of information is tightly controlled by a paranoid state. Researchers in London and Hong Kong have already warned that Beijing has dramatically underestimated the number of cases in Wuhan. "For any disease outbreak, the best strategy is transparency," says Yanzhong Huang, senior fellow for global health at the New York City–based Council on Foreign Relations. "Even taking into account the potential for panic, you need people to be prepared." With a government as opaque as China's, can we be sure that we are?

PREVIOUS PAGES: SOPA IMAGES/SIPA USA: CRANES: XIAO YIJIU—XINHUA/POLARIS

CORONAVIRUSES ARE NOT RARE. In fact, you might have one right now. Depending on the year, anywhere from 10% to 30% of the annual burden of colds can be blamed on one of four coronaviruses. That's why, until the early 2000s, the scientific community treated coronaviruses primarily as nuisances and paid relatively little attention to them. "Twenty years ago, people weren't thinking in terms of coronaviruses being

Earthmovers build one of two new hospitals the government ordered to treat coronavirus cases in Wuhan

potential causes of pandemics or respiratory disease," says Dr. Ian Lipkin, director of the center for infection and immunity at Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health.

That changed in 2002, when SARS first emerged from China. Of the 8,000 people ultimately confirmed to have the respiratory disease, up to 10% died, waking public-health experts to the dangers of a virus that had jumped from bats to cats and dogs, and then to people. In Wuhan, officials believe 2019-nCoV made such a leap inside the city's Huanan market. Rows of blue stalls housed countless purveyors of exotic, wild animals for consumption. "I saw live hedgehogs, porcupines, that kind of thing," says Alan Laine, 57, a physics teacher from the U.K. who has lived in Wuhan since 2002. "It wasn't exactly hidden." The market has been shuttered since Jan. 1, though officials in white hazmat suits continued to sift through evidence when TIME visited on Jan. 22.

Movement across species is what makes virus experts nervous. Because of their sloppy genetic copying, viruses mutate all the time. By chance, the new aberrations sometimes make a strain more adept at living in a new host—and in some cases, those changes make it more virulent as well.

In some respects, the outbreak in Wuhan might have been inevitable. Ralph Baric, professor of epidemiology at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and an expert on the genetic sequences of coronaviruses, has worked with Chinese researchers since 2002 to better understand this family of microbes and how its members infect human cells to cause major respiratory symptoms.

From bats, Baric and his team extracted a series of coronaviruses that varied genetically from SARS by anywhere from 2% to 12%. Those differences hinted that some were primed to jump from bats to people, and cause serious disease. His findings should have rung alarm bells, he says. "We made strong predictions that these coronaviruses were poised for re-emergence in human populations." In December, that prediction came true, when a mysterious pneumonia-like illness began spreading in the city of Wuhan.

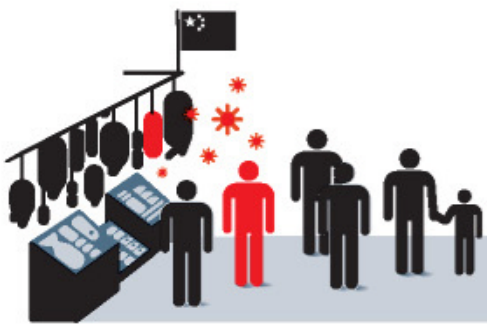
It's not a mystery how authorities should respond to a new infectious disease; by and large, it's been the same for thousands of years. Since typhoid fever struck Athens in 430 B.C.—among the first recorded outbreaks—to the black plague in Europe during the 1300s, and the more contemporary 1918 influenza pandemic, isolation and quarantine have been the most effective ways to contain a highly contagious infectious agent and prevent it from decimating an entire population of people.

Yet in China, those lessons weren't always followed, despite the recent legacy of SARS. Although scientists in China quickly identified the new coronavirus, public-health officials were slow to advise people about how best to protect themselves. It took President Xi nearly a month after the first cases emerged in Wuhan to finally address the health crisis publicly, and local health officials say that delay tied their hands. As Wuhan Mayor Zhou Xianwang explained on CCTV on Jan. 27, "As a local official, I could only disclose information after being authorized [by the central government]. A lot of people don't understand this." Indeed, the wife of a doctor in a Wuhan hospital told TIME that her husband had been instructed not to discuss the coronavirus situation and the government's response with anyone.

The top-down leadership structure of Xi's government leaves local health departments with little authority to issue alerts or take any action, snarling public health and politics at the expense of human lives. Train conductors were reportedly initially told not to wear masks to avoid generating more panic among passengers, just days before the entire rail system was shut down. "People didn't realize the severity of the situation," says a graphic designer from Wuhan who provided only her last name, Tao. "They thought the virus was controllable and not contagious. The government did not publish the facts in time, and they failed to control the epidemic."

STOPPING A KILLER

A new virus has emerged from central China, infecting thousands with severe respiratory illness and killing dozens. Health officials, doctors and researchers are scrambling to contain the outbreak



DEC. 31
The animal-to-human jump
Several people in Wuhan report symptoms caused by a virus that is later tied to a food market

JAN. 7
Cause identified
It belongs to the coronavirus family, which includes SARS and MERS, and spreads via airborne droplets

JAN. 9
First fatality
A death is recorded in Wuhan; meanwhile, the virus reaches other provinces as people travel around China

JAN. 13–15
International exposure
Thailand and Japan confirm infected travelers; the countries begin to screen anyone arriving from Wuhan

The swing from downplaying the initial cases to the extreme policies now in place fueled outbursts on the social-media network Weibo: "The common people are suffering. We don't really have democracy here, and we are deprived of the right of telling the truth," wrote one Weibo user on Jan. 28. Another, on the same day, went further, seeing the outbreak as a harbinger of the future of the Chinese state. "The virus outbreak exposes the truth. It is a wake-up call: our country is not as strong as we expected, our system is not as superior as TV describes."

XI'S GOVERNMENT HAS DONE at least one indisputably effective thing to help battle the virus. On Jan. 10, it posted online a scientific paper containing the genetic blueprint of 2019-nCoV. The prompt release of the sequence won Xi plaudits in the global health community, since it allowed teams around the world to begin breaking down the ingredients of the infection and figuring out how to fight it.

When SARS hit, the sequencing of the human genome was costly and cumbersome; in part because of that, in 2002, it took the Beijing government five months to release what it did in just a few days in 2020. Today, the technology is cheap and routine and is already speeding detection of new cases. When the first potential case of 2019-nCoV appeared in the U.S., the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) was able to confirm the fingerprint of the new coronavirus overnight, from the patient's sample sent to the agency. The CDC also plans to ship testing kits to health departments, both in the U.S. and abroad, to enable them to quickly confirm coronavirus infections and distinguish them from the current seasonal flu.

Diagnosing a disease is one thing, but treating it is another, and creating a vaccine or drug will take longer. To find out exactly which proteins the virus is using to wreak havoc requires making high-quality synthetic DNA from the viral genome, something only a few companies are able to do in a process that takes around 10 days. Then researchers need to make proteins from that DNA. Without those proteins from the viral genome, you can't test which antibodies or drug compounds might counteract them. "The [genetic] code on a screen doesn't get you things to work with on the bench," says Karla Satchell, co-director of the center for structural genomics of infectious diseases at Northwestern University's Feinberg School of Medicine.

Scientists shouldn't be relying on private companies in this way, says Andrew Mesecar, a coronavirus researcher and head of biochemistry at Purdue University, who researches coronaviruses. He is currently working on a solution: he and his team have studied the proteins, or enzymes, that different strains of coronavirus use to replicate in human cells, and developed 50 compounds that can inhibit their activity, essentially blocking the virus from causing infection. "My idea is to have an [IBM] Watson of drug discovery," he says. "As soon as we get the sequence information for a new disease-causing virus, I can feed the computer the information, and it

PROTECTING YOURSELF

Use these CDC tips to prevent the spread of 2019-nCoV and other respiratory viruses:

- **Wash hands often using soap and water**
- **Avoid touching eyes, nose and mouth**
- **Avoid close contact with those who are sick**
- **Disinfect frequently touched surfaces**
- **Cover coughs and sneezes with a tissue**

JAN. 17
Passenger screening
The U.S. begins airport health checks on all travelers from Wuhan and, later, all travelers from China

JAN. 23
City quarantined
A travel ban is put into effect in Wuhan and, later, in other cities in Hubei province, affecting 50 million people

JAN. 27
Hospitals overwhelmed
Increasing numbers of sick patients in Wuhan strain hospital staff and deplete medical supplies

CURRENT
Treating patients
As China builds new hospitals, scientists are racing to develop drug treatments and a vaccine

SOURCES: WHO; CDC; JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY; NEWS REPORTS
NOTE: DATA AS OF JAN. 29

will say you should try these compounds off the shelf to start. It's not here yet, but it's coming, and I hope this is realized in my lifetime."

Yet even if researchers identify a potential drug for 2019-nCoV, testing its safety and efficacy will take months. To speed that process up, scientists are tapping some new technologies. For example, stem cells can be coaxed to churn out high volumes of human lung cells in order to study how a virus like 2019-nCoV interacts with them. And three-dimensional cell cultures, which mimic in a lab dish the physical and molecular environment in the human body, could substitute for some early human safety studies, making for a more affordable and efficient way to test how safe a treatment might be.

Advances like these make some in the field hopeful that the public-health response could be better this time around. "Twitter and everything was lighting up on Friday night [Jan. 10] that the genetic sequence of the virus was posted," says Mesecar. "We analyzed the first one that Saturday morning. Within 20 minutes of having the sequence, I knew it was very close to SARS. That's when I thought, 'Uh-oh, this could be as virulent as SARS.' That tells you right away that you had better act like this is SARS."

There is still a lot about the Wuhan coronavirus that researchers don't know, however. It's not clear how easily the virus spreads from person to person or how long its incubation period is, and there are reports from Chinese health officials that it can be spread by someone who is infected but doesn't have any symptoms of the illness. The CDC and other health agencies are trying to confirm that right now. Both U.S. and Chinese scientists are also working on developing a vaccine for 2019-nCoV, relying on some of the genetic knowledge they gathered from SARS.

All the science in the world still might not be a match for human nature, however, as personal fears often take precedence over the public good—especially during an unfolding outbreak when health officials don't have all the answers. When Jacob Wilson, who runs a media company in Wuhan, first felt his throat get scratchy on Jan. 21, he wasn't concerned. The 33-year-old from Alexandria, La., hadn't visited the seafood market that was being targeted as the source of the outbreak, and health authorities in Wuhan said the new mysterious pneumonia-like illness wasn't passed between humans. Reassured, Wilson continued going to work. "But for the next three days I had a fever and dry cough, which turned into an upper-respiratory infection, sneezing, runny nose and then muscle soreness, weakness and sharp pains throughout my chest," he says. Unsure whether he was infected with 2019-nCoV or the flu, he decided to wait it out rather than brave a potentially infectious line of people at the hospital for several hours. "It just seemed absolutely terrifying and unsafe," he says.

Even if he had gone to the hospital, he might not have learned if he had 2019-nCoV; only four medical centers in the entire city had kits to test for the virus at the time. He turned instead to his mother, a nurse in the U.S., who prescribed antiviral and asthma medications that improved his symptoms after about a week.

He and the roughly 50 million people stuck in Hubei province are still facing a quarantine period that looks likely to drag into weeks and possibly months, as the numbers of infections and deaths creep higher. With workplaces shuttered, and no way to earn money, locals are counting their meals—and trying to remain positive. "This break is peace and quiet," says Dong. "People may feel bored, but I enjoy this holiday." Until science offers a better remedy, the people of Wuhan must cling to those simplest of defenses: hope and hiding. ◻

2020

The Healer

FOR JOE BIDEN, THE 2020 ELECTION IS THE LATEST TEST IN A LIFETIME FILLED WITH LOSS

By Molly Ball

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS FOR TIME

Biden on the campaign trail in Iowa, where his crowds have been smaller than those of his top rivals

It's dark inside Joe Biden's campaign bus,

a lumbering blue diesel emblazoned with the slogan BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE NATION. On this late January afternoon in Iowa, the former Vice President is in the cramped back cabin, nursing a paper cup of Panera Bread coffee so the motion of the road and the drone of the motor don't lull him to sleep.

He is talking about loss. The things he has lost are never far from Biden's mind. Chief among them: his son Beau, a rising star in Democratic politics who died of brain cancer in 2015, a few months after his 46th birthday. "I get up in the morning lots of times and ask myself if he'd be proud of me," Biden says.

Beau's death was the latest in the litany of losses and setbacks that have defined Biden's life. The death of his wife and daughter in an auto accident in 1972. The 1988 presidential bid that ended in a plagiarism scandal. Life-threatening brain aneurysms. Another failed bid for the presidency in 2008. For nearly a half-century, the nation has watched Biden wrestle publicly with sorrow. At countless funerals, he has eulogized Americans great and ordinary, all while nursing his own barely concealed wounds. "My mother used to say God never gives you a cross too heavy to carry," his wife Jill says. "But God got pretty close with Beau."

Yet Biden soldiers on: out of pride, out of duty, out of a deep-seated need to remain in the mix. To his boosters, he's the last authentic man in American politics and the Democrats' best hope of toppling Donald Trump. To his critics, he's a nostalgia act whose well-worn slogans about middle-class uplift and national unity are out of sync in this season of outrage.

Now, at 77, he stands atop the field of Democratic presidential contenders. For months, rivals have nipped at his heels, evincing an I-can't-believe-I'm-losing-to-this guy incredulity. His campaign is disorganized, his debate performances uneven, his stump speech a long-winded hodgepodge delivered to small, graying crowds. Anyone who's known him can see he's slowed down. And yet, as the Feb. 3 Iowa caucuses draw near, Biden remains the man to beat for the nomination. He has maintained a lead in national polls since the start of the campaign, bolstered by a durable coalition of African American and white working-class voters drawn to his experience, his relationships and his humanity. No one in either party connects with voters in such an intensely personal way: hugging, gripping shoulders, planting kisses on foreheads. "He's got more compassion in his little finger than anyone I've met," says Mary Luce, a 70-year-old bartender at an American Legion post who lingered to speak with Biden after a town hall in Ottumwa, Iowa. "That's what would make him such a good leader."

The outcome of the Democratic primary and potentially the party's fate in November hinge on Biden's resilience and whether he can overcome one last test. Embedded in the challenge are existential questions about grief and experience: Do they add or detract? Are they baggage or scar tissue? Do they strengthen a person or deplete him? In Biden, both possibilities are simultaneously present.

Politics has always been a cathartic exercise for Biden, a form of exuberant self-expression. It's as if he has to prove to himself he's still alive, and this is the only way he knows. "Purpose," he says. "That's how I got through it. I lost my wife and daughter; that's how I got through it. When they told me Beau didn't have a chance of making it, that's how I got through it. You've got to have purpose."

This time is no different. Biden's iPhone rests on the table in front of him, a platform bolted to the wall of the bus. The phone is open to a text-message conversation in enlarged type, the sender identified as "HUNT": his younger son Hunter, the one with the soap-opera life and foreign entanglements that figure into President Trump's impeachment. The only visible message reads, "Love you Dad."

Biden, in Mason City, Iowa, on Jan. 22, connects with voters in an intensely personal way

THE BUS PULLS onto the campus of Iowa Central Community College in Fort Dodge, a city of 24,000 an hour and a half north of Des Moines. The sun has set by the time Biden finally gets started, nearly two hours late. Despite the venue, the crowd is elderly. As Biden speaks, students drift out of the adjacent library without stopping to listen.

Something in the front row catches Biden's eye, inspiring a riff about the three times firefighters saved him and his family members, starting with the car crash that killed his wife Neilia and 13-month-old daughter Naomi but spared his two young sons. It's been less than three minutes and already we're talking about the Jaws of Life. Then the story ends, and Biden, who's pacing the room with a microphone, left hand tucked in the pocket of his slim navy suit, moseys back to his lectern, scanning his notes for a rhetorical foothold. "But look, folks, um, one of the things that, uh, that I think is pretty critical here is that, uh, you know, uh I think the character of the nation is literally on the ballot this time around."

Biden spent his early years watching his father struggle in business. At one point the family had to live with his mother's parents, a feuding, hard-drinking Irish clan. When Biden was 10, the family moved to Delaware, where his father worked as a car salesman. The Bidens never sank into poverty but were never comfortable either. Joe struggled to overcome a childhood stutter; his mother assured him it was because he was so smart his mouth couldn't keep up with his brain.

During college at the University of Delaware, Biden worked as a lifeguard at a swimming pool in a rough, mostly African-American neighborhood in Wilmington. "You couldn't run up on him and scare him," says Richard "Mouse" Smith, who befriended Biden at the pool and remains close. "If you got in his face, he got in your face. He didn't back down for nobody."

When Biden ran for Senate in 1972, people said he was crazy to take on the well-liked Republican incumbent, Cale Boggs. Biden responded, "He's tired." The 29-year-old wunderkind thrilled audiences with soaring oratory, each speech a feat of Kennedy-esque optimism that defied the Vietnam-era gloom. Smith helped introduce him in Wilmington's housing projects, where white politicians rarely ventured. It was a bad year for Democrats, the year of President Nixon's landslide re-election, but Biden won by a razor-thin 3,000-vote margin.

Just a few weeks later, while Biden was in Washington interviewing staff, a tractor-trailer slammed into the family station wagon. "One of the things that made it so excruciating is that it came right after something fantastic happened to him," says Ted Kaufman, who was a 33-year-old volunteer on the '72 campaign and would later become Biden's chief of staff, close confidant and appointed successor in the Senate. "He won this impossible, come-from-behind race for the Senate seat at 29 years old. We were top of the world, and then we were down at the bottom."

Biden's sons Beau, then 3, and Hunter, 2, were badly injured. Once Biden got to the hospital in Wilmington, he refused to leave their side. He told the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield, that he wouldn't return to Washington and sent word that the incoming governor of Delaware should prepare to appoint someone else. The tragedy plunged him into such despair, Biden wrote in his 2007 memoir, that he came to understand why those who commit suicide see it as a rational choice.

Mansfield arranged for Biden to take the oath of office at the hospital and wouldn't leave him alone until he agreed to stay in the Senate. Biden never rented an apartment in Washington, commuting two hours each way by car or Amtrak so he could be home in Wilmington every night. The meaning he found in his work helped pull him through the tragedy's aftermath; the Senate became a sort of second family.

Slowly, Biden put his life back together. In 1975, after a few years as a single father, he asked Jill Jacobs on a date after spotting her picture on an airport poster and discovering his brother knew the onetime model. "It wasn't like Joe and I dated—I dated Joe and the boys," Jill Biden says. "I watched him heal through his love for the boys."

A life in politics

Biden, who spent 44 years as a Senator and as Vice President, has made his experience a core theme of his 2020 campaign.

1950S
The Bidens at their family home; Joe is second from the right

1973
Mourning his wife and daughter, Biden is sworn in at his sons' hospital room

1987
Biden's first presidential campaign ends before any votes are cast, amid a plagiarism scandal

By 1987, Biden was chairman of the Judiciary Committee and running for the Democratic presidential nomination. His campaign was a high-wire act, a succession of late entrances and ad-libbed last-minute speeches. Instead of preparing for a debate at the Iowa State Fair, Biden spent the entire flight westward gabbing with aides about Senate business and failing to prepare a closing statement. He could talk forever, but he could never quite articulate why he was running.

Unable to come up with his own message, he substituted those of others. He claimed to have marched in the civil rights movement when he hadn't, and he lifted passages from the late Bobby Kennedy's speeches. Finally, in a debate, he recited nearly word for word, without credit, British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock's impassioned monologue about his coal-mining ancestors. Biden was not descended from any coal miners. A rival campaign tipped off the press. It was soon discovered that he'd also been disciplined for plagiarism in law school.

Biden's political rhetoric had invoked the sacredness of a man's word. The scandal cast him instead as a blarney artist, a man so in love with the power of a good story that facts were incidental. He withdrew from the race before voting began.

FOR THE NEXT 20 years, Biden worked to reclaim his reputation as a serious man. "It obviously jolted him," says former Secretary of State John Kerry, a longtime Senate buddy who is now campaigning for Biden. The same day Biden pulled out of the presidential race, he returned to the Senate to question witnesses about President Reagan's conservative Supreme Court nominee, Robert Bork. Biden won over six Republican Senators to derail Bork's nomination on ideological grounds, a feat that broke the Senate's norm at the time of evaluating judicial nominees only on the basis of aptitude.

A few months later, Biden fell ill in a hotel room after a speech. He underwent two high-risk brain surgeries to repair cranial aneurysms. Doctors told him he had no better than 50-50 odds of recovery. Biden was out of the Senate for seven months but recovered and went on to rack up a long record of accomplishments. He became chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and won acclaim for his ability to work across the aisle. "I saw him negotiate with Jesse Helms to get funding for the U.N.," recalls former Senator Chris Dodd. "No one else could do it."

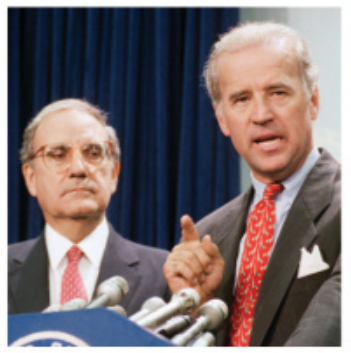
Today the deals Biden cut with Republican Senators, including segregationists like Helms, are part of the left's case against him. Biden took the lead in passing the 1994 crime bill, which included a ban on assault weapons and the Violence Against Women Act but also increased criminal penalties that have been blamed for America's mass-incarceration crisis. When he ran Clarence Thomas' 1991 Supreme Court nomination hearing, he initially resisted airing Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment, then presided over an all-white-male panel that treated Hill with skepticism and condescension.

Biden voted for welfare reform and banking deregulation, NAFTA and the war in Iraq. He clashed with a little-known professor named Elizabeth Warren over bankruptcy legislation that Warren said would leave the working class without a safety net. Biden, whose home state's lax financial regulations have drawn many banks and credit-card companies to make their headquarters there, ushered the bill through. "Every big mistake Democrats have made in the past 30 years, Joe Biden has been involved, and often he's been leading the way," says Rebecca Katz, a progressive strategist unaffiliated with a presidential campaign.

Biden's second presidential run, in 2008, was overshadowed by Barack Obama's meteoric ascent and Hillary Clinton's establishment machine. He dropped out after getting 1% in Iowa. But Obama had been impressed by Biden's debate performances and wanted an elder statesman to balance the ticket. Biden agreed to be vetted for Vice President and was interviewed by Obama's senior strategist David Axelrod. "I said, 'One thing that concerns me is that you can be a little voluble. Can you control that?'" Axelrod recalls. "Two hours later, he finished answering the question."

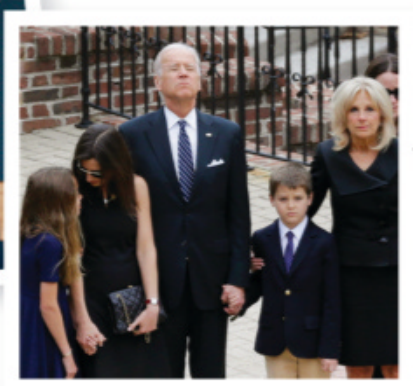
Obama and Biden were opposites in background and temperament, but they became genuinely close,

1991
After Anita Hill accuses Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment, Biden presides over an all-white-male panel in the Senate



1994
Biden helps write the controversial crime bill signed by President Clinton

2008
Obama taps the senior Senator to join the Democratic ticket, and the Senator is elected Vice President



2015
Biden and his family at a visitation for his son Beau

according to both men. Biden commanded an expansive portfolio: implementing the Recovery Act and a gun-control push, handling sticky foreign situations from Iraq to Ukraine and doing much of the Senate glad-handing that Obama loathed. Biden also argued for a restrained foreign policy, frequently clashing with the more hawkish Secretary of State Clinton and Defense Secretary Robert Gates. Biden advised against the raid that killed Osama bin Laden and against sending more troops to Afghanistan.

Within the Administration he was a serious player, but he was also known for his antics. Upbeat and gregarious, he couldn't walk down a hallway without pigeonholing someone for a 10-minute conversation, a former West Wing staffer recalls. He carved out a public persona as a sort of lovable goof, encapsulated by a parody in the Onion of a shirtless "Biden" supposedly washing his vintage Pontiac Trans Am in the White House driveway. His staff once blacked out the windows of a venue where he was speaking because his tendency to bound outside to shake hands presented a security risk and scheduling hassle.

Obama aides mostly laughed off Biden's idiosyncracies; they'd known what they were getting when they picked him. There was one notable exception. In May 2012, Biden let slip that he'd come around to supporting gay marriage, forcing Obama to announce ahead of schedule that his own position had also "evolved." Obama's advisers, some of whom had tested the idea of replacing Biden with Clinton on the 2012 ticket, were incensed. Today Biden invokes their partnership incessantly, but Obama remains officially neutral in the primary.

Some of Biden's critics charged that he was so eager to be part of the action that he would agree to bad deals in the name of bipartisanship. In December 2012, then Senate majority leader Harry Reid and minority leader Mitch McConnell reached an impasse on an extension of the George W. Bush–era tax cuts. Reid was so annoyed with McConnell's offer that he threw it in a fireplace. McConnell "called Biden because I didn't want any part of that deal," Reid recalls. "I was not a big fan of it, but it got done." Reid later demanded the White House remove Biden from future negotiations.

THE MORNING AFTER the speech in Fort Dodge, Biden arrives at the North Iowa Events Center in Mason City, where he's introduced by Representative Conor Lamb of Pennsylvania, a 35-year-old who in 2018 won a district Trump had carried by 20 points. Youth and diversity are great, Lamb says. But "a little adult supervision wouldn't be the worst thing for us in the House!" Taking the microphone, Biden extols Lamb's credentials. "He reminds me so much—excuse me for saying this—of my son Beau," Biden says. "They both ended up majors, they both ended up deployed, and they both ended up serving their country from their heart as well as their head."

Beau was the attorney general of Delaware, laying the groundwork to run for governor, when in 2013 he was diagnosed with glioblastoma, the same fast-moving brain cancer that killed Senators John McCain and Edward Kennedy. "It's a death sentence. We knew right away," Biden recalls in our interview. "But you always hope for a miracle." Beau succumbed to the disease in May 2015. Before he died, he made his father swear that he would be all right, as Biden describes in his best-selling 2017 memoir, *Promise Me, Dad*—a deeply moving chronicle of loss that's interwoven with descriptions of Biden's high-stakes negotiations with foreign leaders. At first, Biden wasn't sure he could keep that promise. The boys had gotten him through his grief after the car accident, he says. Coming home every night "wasn't about being a good dad—I needed them." Now his support system was gone.

Biden had been making serious preparations to run for the 2016 presidential nomination, despite the conventional wisdom that Clinton had it locked up. His strategist Mike Donilon drew up a 22-page memo arguing that he was well positioned to win with a message of finishing the work Obama started and lifting up the middle class. Even Biden's gaffes, he argued, would strike voters as authentic and refreshing compared with "carefully packaged candidates" the public had tired of. But Biden

1953: COURTESY BIDEN CAMPAIGN; 1973: AP; 1987, 1991, 2008: GETTY IMAGES (3); 1994, 2015: AP (2)

says, "I realized I just didn't have the heart to do it."

Beau's death had destabilized the family in more ways than one. His widow fell into a romance with his brother Hunter, who had separated from his wife. Hunter had struggled with addiction for years—in 2014, he was discharged from the Navy when he tested positive for cocaine. He'd been to rehab, but after his brother's death, he resumed drinking and smoking crack, he told the *New Yorker* last year. He recently settled a paternity suit brought by an Arkansas woman in local court. In May of last year, Hunter surprised his parents by suddenly marrying a South African filmmaker he'd met six days earlier. (Hunter Biden did not respond to messages requesting comment for this article.)

Hunter's career has also created issues. After graduating from Yale Law School, Hunter founded a series of lobbying and investment firms that Republican critics charge were mostly about leveraging his name. These activities caused heartburn in the White House, Obama Administration sources say, but Biden would become defensive or irate if anyone questioned them. One of his gigs was with the Ukrainian gas firm Burisma, which paid him up to $50,000 per month to sit on its board despite Hunter's lack of expertise in Ukraine or natural gas. At the time, Joe Biden was leading anticorruption efforts in Ukraine, and from this potential conflict of interest, Trump and his allies have spun an elaborate and false conspiracy theory alleging that Burisma was bribing Joe Biden, through his son, to influence U.S. policy toward the former Soviet state.

After 2016, Biden's political career was assumed to be over. But Biden still nursed ambitions. Trump's "flat appeal to hatred" after the deadly white-supremacist protest in Charlottesville, Va., in August 2017 was a key factor, he says. Still, he wasn't sure about running, "because I knew how ugly he'd make it."

Biden's 2020 campaign has been messy and insular, like all his previous ones. This is the first time his sister Valerie Biden Owens hasn't managed the operation, though she's still deeply involved. His senior leadership is heavy on confidants and light on consultants-for-hire, with few veterans of other presidential campaigns and few former Clinton staffers.

The candidate is prone to indecision, sometimes paralyzingly so. The campaign's kickoff was delayed for months as he dithered. In April, aides planned to launch at last with a video, filmed in Scranton, Pa., about middle-class values. At the last minute, Biden ditched it and recorded an ad about Charlottesville instead. It took months for the campaign to open its Philadelphia headquarters. When the Ukraine scandal began to unfold in September, Biden initially struggled to respond to questions about his son's role.

All of Biden's top Democratic rivals routinely draw larger and more enthusiastic crowds. At events he is usually preceded onstage by a young field organizer, a tactic Obama's team seized on to encourage volunteering. But on his recent campaign swing, all the field organizers were from out of state, a sign that he's having trouble recruiting local volunteers.

Then there's the candidate himself. Some days he seems lost; others, he's perfectly sharp. The campaign has sharply limited his exposure to the media. Biden hasn't taken questions from reporters on the campaign trail in more than a month. Aides cut off the interview for this article before the allotted time was up. "They've been very careful how they handle him," Axelrod observes. "He's like a porcelain candidate—they don't expose him very much. I used to say Biden has a peculiar type of performance anxiety: he performs, and everyone around him is anxious."

The old Biden gaffes tended to be a product of political incorrectness, like when he called Obama "the first sort of mainstream African American who is articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy." Now Biden often wanders around searching for the end of his sentence, cutting off digressions with an apologetic "anyway." The fast-talking, wisecracking lawyer-pol has been replaced by an old man who can't stop talking about the past.

'Joe's a healer. It satisfies that feeling of purpose.'

—JILL BIDEN

And yet when Biden gets into the weeds on policy, a sort of muscle memory kicks in. He ticks off the legislative history of bills and makes sophisticated arguments and has a remarkable ability to weave together his aw-shucks persona with his high-level experience. One minute he's cracking jokes about firefighters ("You're all crazy, but I love you"), and the next he's recounting his meetings with Chinese President Xi Jinping. The New York *Times* editorial board gave him scant consideration for its endorsement but noted he was the only candidate they interviewed who offered a detailed plan for what to do if China sent troops to quell the Hong Kong protests. (U.N. resolution, warships moved to the region, pressure from allies, threats of sanctions.)

The most telling moment from Biden's session at the *Times* came not in the interview but beforehand, when an African-American security guard approached him in an elevator to tell him she loved him. In the 2020 campaign, this has been Biden's abiding strength: the loyalty of voters who feel they know him deeply. "He has a real base among African Americans, non-college-educated whites and older voters," Axelrod says. "He has a palpable sense of empathy and compassion, and when the race is defined by a President who's completely devoid of empathy and compassion, that is a powerful quality."

Almost anyone who knows Biden can offer a story about this compassion. Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester, a Delaware Democrat, was not yet an elected official when her husband died unexpectedly in 2014. Biden tracked her down and called out of the blue to comfort her. "I got a lot of calls that day.

Biden backstage before his campaign event in Mason City

I don't remember a lot. I was in a fog," she says. "But I'll never forget the conversation with him. Through the phone I could feel true empathy from somebody who had walked that path." She only found out later that Biden's son had a terminal illness at the time.

Biden's events can feel like a rolling therapy session. A large chunk of time is set aside after every speech for Biden to interact with voters, many of whom tell him about their own encounters with trauma and death. Most people would find this constant performance of comfort, the assumption of so many strangers' burdens, to be draining. Not Biden. "Joe's a healer," Jill says. "He feels people's problems because he's been through a lot of it himself. And it satisfies that feeling of purpose that he's helping others."

BIDEN'S MOST CONSEQUENTIAL decision this campaign has been not to make a hard turn to the left. (Some of his advisers pushed him to reconsider defending his work on the crime bill. He refused, saying it demonstrated his pragmatism.) Pressed to apologize for working with segregationists in the Senate, he insisted it proves he can work even with today's Republicans. "Some of my colleagues don't think we can unite the country," Biden says on the bus, positioning a throw pillow at the small of his back on the narrow bench. His jacket is off, his tie loosened. "They make fun of me that I think I can," he continues. "Well, if we don't unite the country, if we don't bring it back together, start to be able to work together, we're done."

It's a gamble to hawk comity while your rivals inveigh against a broken system and a bitter enemy. Taking in Biden's long-winded Q. and A.s can feel like a warm bath: not necessarily thrilling, but deeply soothing. His advisers believe voters are hungry for reconciliation. "They're scared to death because they think the character of the country is going to change in a way that will never be repaired," Donilon, the campaign's chief strategist, says of voters. "That's what Biden is talking about. That is a resilient message."

The other key pitch is that Biden offers the best chance of beating Trump. "We can win in North Carolina, we can win in Georgia, we can win in Texas, we can win in Arizona, we can win Pennsylvania," Biden says. "The question is, who do you think helps? You think Bernie or Elizabeth helps them win in North Carolina or Georgia? You know the answer."

Yet many Democrats fear nominating Biden is a disaster waiting to happen. Trump could run the same playbook he ran against Clinton: insinuating physical decline, pointing out paid speeches and other ties to big banks, the vague scent of legal-but-sleazy associations, "experience" turned into an epithet against the longtime Washington insider. Biden allies recognize the threat and insist they're girding for a brawl. Says Senator Chris Coons of Delaware: "We're going to go right back at him."

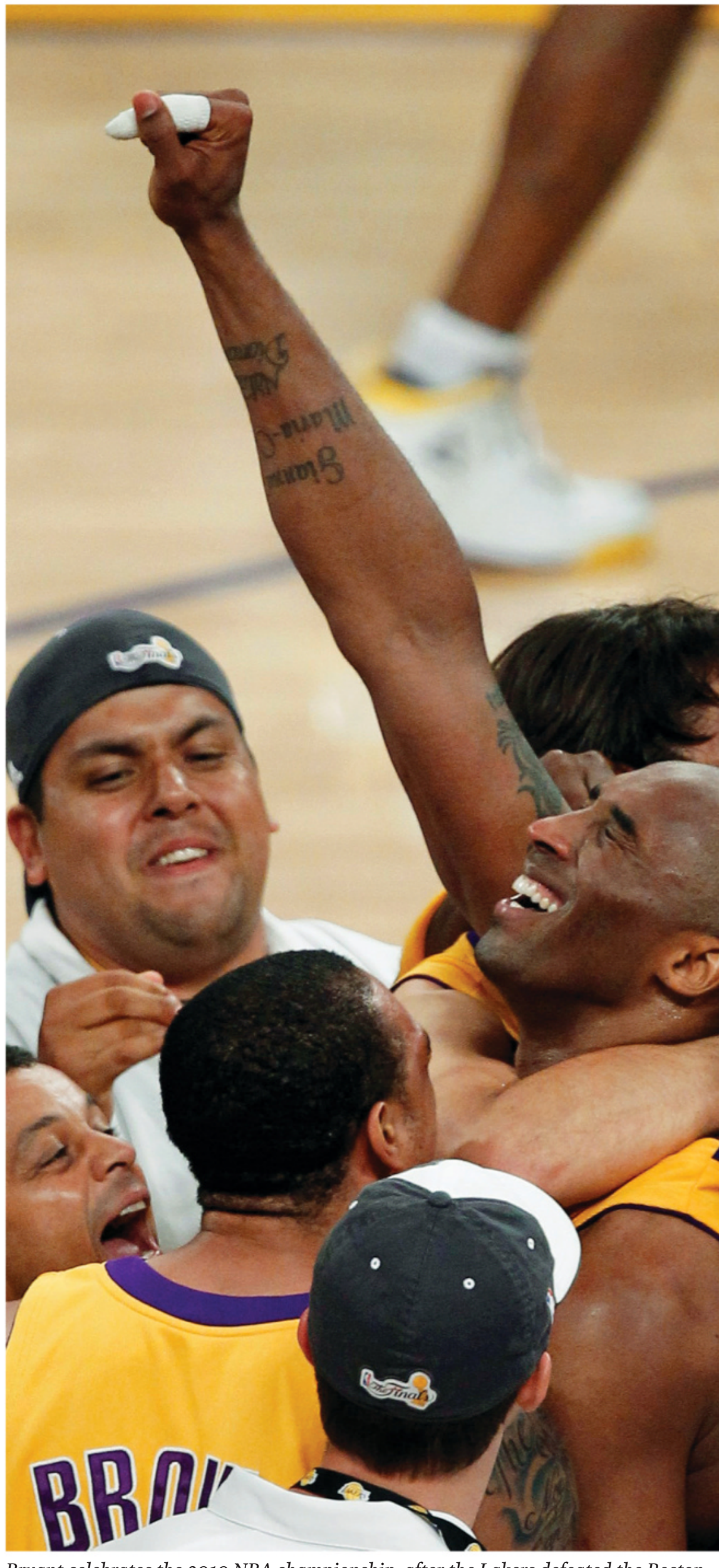
Biden's bus trundles on through Iowa, the windows so darkened by his campaign slogan that it's impossible to see the landscape as it passes by. "My mom used to say, as long as you're alive—" he pauses and emits a chuckle. "You're not dead until you see the face of God." *—With reporting by* PHILIP ELLIOTT/DES MOINES, IOWA

KOBE BRYANT

1978 — 2020

BY SEAN GREGORY

Jerry West saw something the other basketball mavens didn't. Everyone around the league was intrigued by the slender high school senior with NBA genes and confidence to spare. But could Kobe Bryant really go directly from leading the Lower Merion High School Aces in suburban Philadelphia to guarding Michael Jordan? It took



Bryant celebrates the 2010 NBA championship, after the Lakers defeated the Boston

Celtics in Game 7

OPENING PAGES: BOB LEVEY—GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: ALEX GALLARDO—REUTERS

VIEWPOINT

WHEN A CHILD LOSES HIS HERO

BY DAVID FRENCH

WHEN I WATCHED the coverage of Kobe and Gianna Bryant's deaths, amid the primary grief I felt for Kobe's wife, his surviving children and the people who knew and loved him, there were a series of images that brought even more tears to my eyes. It was the kids lined up outside the Staples Center. Some of them were dressed head to toe in Lakers gear. I looked at them and saw my own son.

I was transported back to a magical night on Nov. 11, 2014. We live in Tennessee, not too far from Memphis, and Kobe's Lakers were coming to Beale Street to play the Grizzlies. We didn't know how many more opportunities we'd have to see Kobe play, so I splurged and bought tickets for the row behind the Grizzlies bench. My son brought a friend, another Kobe fan, and I've never seen two kids more excited—or more decked out in Lakers gear. They'd even fashioned capes out of Lakers flags.

NBA basketball is often a more intimate game than the other major American sports. In basketball, you can be sometimes inches away from the world's greatest athletes. Throughout the night, Grizzlies stars Marc Gasol and Zach Randolph talked to my son and his friend, good-naturedly giving them a hard time for rooting for Kobe. Then, late in the game, Kobe saw them—in all their ridiculous Lakers finery—and he broke his game face for just a moment and smiled.

If you're a parent, chances are you know what it's like when your kid finds a hero. Channeled properly, it's a source of true joy. Go to the games together, and you create those moments that bond families. I once read advice that I've never forgotten—when spending money with your family, don't purchase things. Purchase shared experiences. And on that night, we had an experience that will stay with us forever.

There are a lot of good reasons to worry about our celebrity culture. We lavish attention bordering on obsession on our biggest stars. But it's also true that excellence can be a gift to a nation and a culture. It's a privilege to watch a great athlete at the top of his game. It's a joy to see an artist perform at the peak of her talents.

And, make no mistake, it was a privilege to watch Kobe. He brought a ferocious energy to the court. He carried that ferocious energy into a will to improve, to drive himself to match or possibly even exceed the game's greats.

To put it another way, Kobe upheld his end of the bargain. The kids in the Kobe jerseys gave him their love, and he gave them everything he had. And as he poured his heart and soul out on the hardwood, the bond was sealed.

As Kobe got older, his growth was unmistakable. He was a leader in the cohort of NBA stars who put their families front and center. Kobe's fans started to see Kobe as a husband and father. My son knew his daughters' names. His friends knew their names. And after Kobe retired, the pictures of him on the sideline with Gianna went viral—and not just with sentimental parents.

Kobe's life was messy and complicated. There were hard questions to ask and hard conversations to have about a terrible night in Colorado, and the man behind the jersey. But most lives have a direction, and the direction of Kobe's life was clear.

And he had so much more to do. While he never quite reached Michael Jordan's greatness on the court, he was poised to outshine Jordan in his retirement. He won an Oscar. He was an enormous presence in the game. He showcased an intellect that was miles beyond mere "basketball brilliant." And kids still wore his jersey. He was still their hero, almost four years after his incredible, 60-point final game.

And now he's gone.

I called my son, a college freshman. He told me he was wearing Kobe's jersey. His grief, and the grief of millions of Americans like him, is—in its own way—a final tribute to the man who gave them so much joy.

French is a columnist for TIME

West, then executive vice president of the Los Angeles Lakers and one of the best players in NBA history, less than a half hour to know the answer. As part of a workout ahead of the 1996 draft, Bryant played one-on-one against the recently retired defensive specialist Michael Cooper. The GM ended the session early. "I was embarrassed for Michael to watch a 17-year-old just basically demolish him," West tells TIME, "and enjoy doing it."

West acquired Bryant in a draft-day deal, pairing the teenager with the towering Shaquille O'Neal and launching one of the most decorated careers in professional sports. Over 20 seasons—all of them with the Lakers—Bryant won five NBA championships, two scoring titles, a pair of Olympic gold medals, one MVP award and was named to 18 All-Star teams. More than merely guarding Jordan, Bryant emerged as his heir, a scoring assassin who could rip a defender's heart out by way of a devastating dunk or an elusive fadeaway jump shot from the baseline, his singular work of athletic art. His ascent coincided with the development of social media and basketball's embrace around the world, which turned Bryant into one of the game's first truly global stars. Back home, he inspired a generation of high school phenoms like LeBron James to follow his lead from high school to the NBA.

"You said Kobe, and everyone knows who that is: a one-word name," says Quentin Richardson, who played against Bryant in the 2000s.

Driven by a focus and intensity that he would come to call—and trademark—Mamba Mentality, Bryant had the rare combination of elite talent and preternatural fire seen only in the true greats. "Kobe played the game," says West, "like it was war."

When Bryant retired in 2016, he had scored 33,643 points, good for fourth on the NBA all-time scoring list. He was in third until Jan. 25, when James passed him. Bryant called James and sent a congratulatory tweet.

The next day, Bryant was gone. The helicopter he was taking to his daughter's youth-basketball tournament crashed in the hills near Calabasas, Calif. All nine people on board were killed, including Bryant's 13-year-old daughter Gianna, known as Gigi, and two other young girls. Bryant had begun using helicopters as a player to avoid L.A. traffic on his commutes to home games, and to give him more time with his wife Vanessa and their children. The crash is still under investigation, though the National Transportation Safety Board said the helicopter was not equipped with a terrain-warning system that could have alerted the pilot to danger.

The loss was one of the most stunning in the history of sports and global celebrity that Bryant had done so much to fuse. To many, it was as if a vein had been opened. NBA players wept publicly. On Weibo, one of China's largest social networks, the hashtag for Bryant's death drew nearly 2.5 billion views in a day. Former President Barack Obama said, "Kobe was a legend on the court and just getting started in what would have been just as meaningful a second act," and world leaders from Israel to Venezuela shared their own condolences. Murals of Bryant with his daughter appeared in states from Texas to Massachusetts. Across the Philippines, skyscrapers lit up in tribute.

In Los Angeles, thousands gathered to cry and light candles outside the downtown Staples Center—"the house that Kobe Bryant built" as host Alicia Keys called it at the top of a notably subdued Grammy Awards held in the arena

INDELIBLE MOMENTS
Clockwise from top left: In 2019, Bryant with daughters Natalia, Bianka and Gianna, and wife Vanessa, pregnant with daughter Capri; chatting with Michael Jordan during a 1997 game; with Jerry West, left, upon joining the Lakers in 1996; showing off his gold medal at the 2012 Olympics; clutching his Oscar in 2018

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: KOBE BRYANT/INSTAGRAM; VINCENT LAFORET—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; STEVE GRAYSON—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES; TIMOTHY A. CLARY—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; JOHN SHEARER—GETTY IMAGES

that night. It has become a gathering place for Bryant's legions of fans, who come bearing jerseys and balls much the way Buckingham Palace overflowed with flowers following the death of Princess Diana.

Reactions to Bryant's death have deepened to reflect the dimensions and sometimes confounding complexity of his life. Though not cut down in the prime of his basketball career, Bryant, at 41, was well into a second act that gave him more prominence than many active players. He had already written an Oscar-winning animated short film, launched a production company, created a sports academy and become a vocal champion of women's sports. "I absolutely believe he was going to do great things," says Richardson, "and write another chapter of greatness after basketball."

And he died being a parent. As word emerged that Gigi had been killed with him, queasiness was compounded by recognition. Every weekend, parents travel with their children to organized youth-sporting events, just like Bryant was doing with the second of his four daughters. Suddenly people who did not know Bryant, or particularly care for him, could picture themselves in his place, and choke up. To toggle between Instagram and Twitter in the days after Jan. 26 was to experience the social-media version of a wake: Gigi dangling from her father's shoulders, or parked above them, her hands resting on his head. The two sitting courtside, exploring the nuances of the game.

Bryant's biography included another critical element: in 2003, he was arrested and charged with sexual assault. The criminal case was dropped after Bryant's accuser refused to testify in court. A civil suit ended with a settlement. Bryant issued a statement of apology, which read in part: "After months of reviewing discovery, listening to her attorney, and even her testimony in person, I now understand how she feels that she did not consent to this encounter."

The case failed to derail Bryant's career, and by the time he retired, it tended to be mentioned reluctantly, if at all, in assessments of his legacy. In the era before #MeToo, an NBA superstar could commute between games and court appearances without apparent consequence.

VIEWPOINT

COMING TO TERMS WITH A COMPLICATED LIFE

BY EVETTE DIONNE

IN THE WAKE of Kobe Bryant's untimely death at 41, the usual cascade of emotion set in: disbelief, shock, sadness and, for some, anger. That last emotion was born not from what was said about the superlative basketball star and doting father, but what wasn't: rarely did the outpouring of tributes stop to acknowledge that amid the many wonderful accomplishments, Bryant did something horrific.

In July 2003, Bryant was charged with sexually assaulting a 19-year-old employee of the Lodge and Spa at Cordillera in Edwards, Colo. He admitted that he didn't explicitly ask for consent and initially denied even having sex with the woman. He left a bruise on her neck and drew blood from her skin. After Bryant's defense team badly intimidated the victim and smeared her reputation, she refused to testify. After the criminal case was dismissed, Bryant issued an apology that said, in part, "After months of reviewing discovery, listening to her attorney, and even her testimony in person, I now understand how she feels that she did not consent to this encounter." He later settled for an undisclosed sum in a civil suit.

It is irresponsible to excuse or gloss over Bryant's treatment of this woman or his complicity in a legal strategy that upended her life. But it is also reductive to focus only on this behavior when reflecting on his life and death. When I learned of the helicopter crash, I immediately thought about my older brother yelling, "Kobe!" whenever he threw makeshift paper basketballs into a trash can. I thought about Bryant's widow Vanessa and their fatherless daughters, who now have to move through life with a hovering cloud of grief. I thought about the many black children and families who saw Bryant as a model of possibility. And I thought about the woman who accused Bryant of rape having to watch her perpetrator being valorized for eternity.

The #MeToo movement has helped equip us with more nuanced understanding of sexual violence. A person can be good to their spouse and their children, donate lots of money to worthy causes and create indelible work that influences—and also be a monster. And yet it's still difficult to process legacy in the face of tragedy. Thanks to the pressures of social media, on which we react to unfathomable news in real time, we often fall into a binary of good or bad, wrong or right, on the side of survivors or on the side of a rapist. It is rarely that simple.

Bryant, aged and matured, became an ambassador for women's sports, coached his daughter's basketball team and took pride in being a "girl dad." But none of his commitments—to his children, to women's sports, to a more equitable world—negate his culpability. We must confront the tragedy that has befallen Bryant and his family, understand the greatness he exhibited on the court and finally—maybe for the first time—reckon with the irreparable trauma he inflicted.

When we are wedded to specific narratives of how feminists are supposed to act, it can be all too easy to disregard humanity. But feminism, at least the tradition I follow, makes space for redemption too. Only Bryant's accuser can decide if she forgives him, and it's not our place to do that work publicly on her behalf. What we can do is complicate these conversations so we can usher in more honesty about who's elevated in the aftermath of a sexual assault and how fame and money insulate perpetrators from being brought to account. We can do this while still acknowledging that Bryant did not deserve to die in such a manner at such an age and that the people who loved him are grieving.

Dionne is the editor in chief of Bitch Media *and the author of the forthcoming book* Lifting as We Climb: Black Women's Battle for the Ballot Box

BRYANT
8

Bryant's aerial displays were among the game's most thrilling ever; here, a reverse slam in a 1998 home game

ANDREW D. BERNSTEIN—NBAE/GETTY IMAGES

BRYANT WAS THE SON of former NBA player Joe "Jellybean" Bryant and Pamela Bryant. He spent part of his childhood in Italy, where his father played professionally and where he learned both the language and a love of soccer. The family eventually settled outside Philadelphia, where Bryant grew into a phenom.

He was self-confident, and solitary, which disarmed teammates. At the 1998 All-Star Game in New York, Bryant, then 19, went right at Jordan in what was a clear generational shift. After Jordan retired from the Bulls, the Lakers of Shaq and Kobe won three straight NBA titles, from 2000 to 2002. Bryant and O'Neal had an inevitable falling-out: not even L.A.'s sprawl could contain those two alpha egos. When, in 2004, O'Neal was traded to Miami, many blamed Bryant, painted as a selfish ball hog and whose reputation was tainted by his criminal case.

Bryant chose to embrace the role of villain, creating the Mamba Mentality pop philosophy. It was an approach to life that required extreme focus, discipline and enthusiasm for taking on all comers. Magic Johnson's perpetual smile didn't fit Bryant's style. Like Jordan, Bryant embraced brutal honesty and could be cruel to underperforming teammates.

The Lakers suffered some down years in the mid-aughts, but Bryant's displays of individual excellence continued to make noise. In 2006, he scored 81 points in a game, the second highest point total in league history. Around that time Jerry Colangelo, the head of USA Basketball, told Bryant that if he wanted to play for his first Olympic team, he'd have to serve primarily as a passer, not a shooter. Bryant, though surprised, still promised Colangelo he'd do whatever was needed to bring a gold medal back to the U.S. Winning was always paramount. Colangelo was testing Bryant; the pair then shared a laugh, knowing that asking Bryant not to score was like asking a dog not to bark.

At an early training camp for those Beijing Olympics, Bryant arrived in the weight room before 6 a.m. Younger superstars like James and Dwyane Wade, according to Colangelo, learned to follow Bryant's example. In China, where Bryant first hosted a clinic in 1998, hordes of people would greet the U.S. team bus. "They didn't want to see us," says Colangelo. "They wanted to see Kobe. They just kept chanting, 'Kobe! Kobe! Kobe!'" The U.S. won gold in Beijing.

A Lakers renaissance followed. Los Angeles won back-to-back titles in 2009 and 2010, and Bryant was MVP of both finals. He continued to produce, but injuries plagued the last few years of his career. The 2015–2016 goodbye season served as both farewell and affirmation of his basketball greatness. In a full Mamba showing that was replayed on national television, in prime time, a day after his death, Bryant scored 60 points, on 50 shots, at the Staples Center in the final game of his career.

Rather than jump to TV or hawk products after his playing days, Bryant embraced the clean slate. He dedicated time to his venture-capital firm, created a musical podcast for children and won his Oscar for "Dear Basketball," an animated film based on the poem he used to announce the end of his playing career. In addition to supporting women's sports—Bryant was a regular presence at and cheerleader for the WNBA and U.S. women's national soccer and gymnastics teams, among others—he became a devoted coach for his own daughters. He embraced the role, telling Jimmy Kimmel that his goal was to give the girls "a foundation of the amount of work and preparation that it takes to be excellent."

"We lost a big advocate for women's sports," soccer icon Mia Hamm tells TIME. "But we're all inspired by his belief in equality, and it's our job to continue to move forward."

She is among the many who believed Bryant's best was ahead of him, which only added to the despair over his death. When athletes hang up their uniforms, they're supposed to return to mortal life and age with the rest of us. They show up at ceremonies, hair a little more salty but the applause as raucous as ever. "I had a brother killed in Korea and honestly," says West, "it affected me in the same way."

The NBA's silhouette logo is modeled after West in his playing days. A petition to change it to Bryant's likeness has since received close to 3 million signatures. *—With reporting by* ANDREW R. CHOW/NEW YORK ◻

UNBEARABLE LOSS

Victims of the helicopter crash that killed Kobe Bryant include teen basketball players, coaches and parents

JOHN ALTOBELLI, 56, KERI ALTOBELLI, 46, AND ALYSSA ALTOBELLI, 13

Alyssa Altobelli was a member of the Mamba Sports Academy team and with her parents when she died. Her father John was the longtime baseball coach at Orange Coast College; a colleague called him an "amazing mentor."

GIANNA "GIGI" BRYANT, 13

The second oldest of four children that Bryant had with his wife Vanessa, Gianna was an aspiring basketball star who played at her father's Mamba Sports Academy.

SARAH CHESTER, 45, AND PAYTON CHESTER, 13

Payton Chester was also a basketball player for Mamba Sports Academy and was on board the helicopter with her mother Sarah. A family member said Payton "was the greatest person you would ever meet" and that Sarah was "the one everybody counted on."

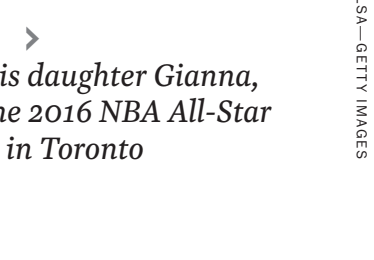
CHRISTINA MAUSER, 38

An assistant coach at Mamba Sports Academy, Mauser was remembered by her husband as a warm, witty and funny mother of three who was especially adept at coaching defense.

ARA ZOBAYAN, 50

A pilot for more than 20 years with a commercial license since 2007, Zobayan was said to frequently fly with Bryant. He was described as a dedicated flight instructor who was passionate about aviation.

—Mahita Gajanan



Bryant holds his daughter Gianna, then 9, before the 2016 NBA All-Star Game in Toronto

ELSA—GETTY IMAGES

NBA

Without A, B and O, we can't save anybody.

Only 3 out of 100 Americans donate blood—and that's not enough to help patients in need.

Without more donors, patients will not have the type A, B, O or AB blood they need.
You can help fill the **#MissingTypes** this summer. Make a blood donation appointment today.

RedCrossBlood.org/MissingTypes

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Red Cr ss

Time Off

ALL THAT GLITTERS
This year, Oscar is #somale as well as #sowhite

INSIDE

DIANE KEATON RETURNS TO CHILDHOOD IN HER MEMOIR

A MARY RICHARDS FOR OUR TIME

AN INFAMOUS MCDONALD'S SCAM GETS THE DOC TREATMENT

ILLUSTRATION BY NEIL JAMIESON FOR TIME

MOVIES

Fixing the Oscars won't change the world. But it's a start

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE ACADEMY AWARDS USED TO SERVE A FAIRLY simple purpose. They were Hollywood's way of patting itself on the back, of acknowledging the best the industry had to offer. *It Happened One Night, The Best Years of Our Lives, Lawrence of Arabia, The Godfather:* these were all great movies that Hollywood was proud of, and audiences loved them too. A Best Picture Oscar only validated their good taste.

But today audiences want a different kind of validation from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and the rise of streaming platforms that sharpens that appetite also makes its fulfillment less likely: having more movies, and more choices, means more favorites. Consensus seems hopeless. A few years back, the organization took steps to diversify its ranks, inviting more women and people of color into its membership. The impulse was great. But if this awards season is any indication, it's not clear that the changes have done much good. *Joker,* a hit movie that seeks pity for a violent, white male character who's been failed by society, leads with 11 nominations.

Meanwhile, Greta Gerwig's *Little Women,* which focuses on a family of women—and which has also been popular with audiences—earned nominations in several categories, including Best Picture. But Gerwig wasn't nominated for Best Director, an oversight that feels like a slap to many women struggling to have their work recognized in the industry. Furthermore, many critics were frustrated that Jennifer Lopez failed to get a nod for her terrific turn in *Hustlers;* likewise, Lupita Nyong'o was overlooked for the intricate performance she gave in *Us.*

The outrage on social media has been deafening. We—that is to say, anyone who hopes for a progressive, democratic, open society—want our movies to better reflect the diversity of the world we live in, and we're desperate for the Academy to follow suit. But while it's normal to want change, and to want to fix everything that's wrong with Hollywood, the bigger question is this: Are we sure we're not looking to Hollywood to fix us?

HOW A MOVIE like *The Farewell*—an unequivocally American film, though it features a nearly all-Asian or Asian-American cast and is largely in Mandarin, with subtitles—gets out into the world can make all the difference. The rise of streaming platforms is good news, to a point, for new filmmakers hoping to break in or for established filmmakers who have been unable to get even a small, independent project off the ground. In years past, Netflix provided a home for fine work from directors like Tamara Jenkins *(Private Life)* and Dee Rees *(Mudbound)*—but unlike *The Irishman* or *Marriage Story,* two powerhouse Netflix releases from last year, those films weren't positioned for optimum Oscars attention.

In a directors' roundtable sponsored by the *Hollywood Reporter* late last year, Lulu Wang, director of *The Farewell,* pinpointed the problem. She said that while streaming deals can be favorable for established directors like Martin Scorsese or Noah Baumbach—whose names are extremely valuable in helping Netflix build its brand—her preference, as a relative newcomer, was to go with a small studio, A24, though one of the streaming platforms had offered her twice as much money.

As of December, *The Farewell* had been playing in theaters for almost five months. That theatrical release granted it a legitimacy it might not have gotten from a streaming platform. "I know for a fact that if I took that bigger money, [the streamer] wouldn't have the energy to put behind someone like me to build my brand," Wang said—especially when there are now so many established directors who are open to streaming deals.

Wang's decision against streaming highlights a conundrum that all

We go to movies not just to see our best selves reflected but also to help us understand ourselves at our worst

Joker

11

NOMINATIONS

Todd Phillips' dark take on Joker *earned 11 nominations, including Actor in a Leading Role for star Joaquin Phoenix, Adapted Screenplay and Best Picture*

PREVIOUS PAGE: HUSTLERS: STX; HARRIET: FOCUS FEATURES; DOLEMITE IS MY NAME: NETFLIX; THE FAREWELL: A24; QUEEN & SLIM, US: UNIVERSAL; THESE PAGES: JOKER: WARNER BROS.; THE IRISHMAN: NETFLIX; 1917: UNIVERSAL; ONCE UPON A TIME IN ... HOLLYWOOD: SONY

The Irishman

10

NOMINATIONS

Martin Scorsese's The Irishman, *his 3½-hour epic Mob movie for Netflix, received 10 nominations*

1917

10

NOMINATIONS

A bracing war drama shot in the style of one continuous take by director Sam Mendes, 1917 *was nominated in 10 categories*

Once Upon a Time in ... Hollywood

10

NOMINATIONS

Both Brad Pitt and Leonardo DiCaprio were nominated for their performances in Quentin Tarantino's Once Upon a Time in ... Hollywood

filmmakers seeking to break in will have to think about. The rise of streaming services has already changed what kinds of stories get told and who gets to tell them and stands to alter the landscape further: according to a recent Los Angeles *Times* article, Netflix released 19 original movies from first-time directors in 2019; 11 more are already scheduled for 2020. About half the directors making Netflix debuts last year were women, and several were filmmakers of color.

BUT IF DIRECTORS like Scorsese and Baumbach—that is, male, white and established—have everything to gain and little to lose from releasing a movie on Netflix, a filmmaker seeking to build a name will find it harder to stand out from the pack. Having more movies out there means more movies to slip through the cracks, especially if they don't come with a big-ticket director's name attached. Netflix's *Dolemite Is My Name,* made by experienced director Craig Brewer, is a terrific picture about blaxploitation impresario and entrepreneur Rudy Ray Moore, starring a dazzling Eddie Murphy. But the film received no Oscar nominations. With streaming, the public may have greater access to good movies that perhaps couldn't otherwise have been made—but that doesn't necessarily mean those movies will get the awards attention they deserve, which in turn grants those filmmakers more freedom to tell worthy stories.

People who love movies have so much invested in the "Oscars suck!" argument that we see our foot stomping as being somehow productive. But "fixing" the Oscars—to the extent that it's even possible—won't solve society's bigger problems. Many filmgoers are torn between claiming that this elite institution doesn't matter and agitating for it to change. We can't have it both ways.

The healthier approach might be to follow the lead of Bong Joon-ho, director of *Parasite,* which has been nominated for six Academy Awards, including Best Picture—it's the first Korean film to have earned that honor. In October, as Bong was bringing his film to various festivals (it had already won the top prize, the Palme d'Or, at Cannes), he was also in the midst of the obligatory Oscars campaign, a routine that was new to him. When a reporter from Vulture asked what he made of the fact that no Korean film had ever been nominated for a Best Picture Oscar, despite the Korean film industry's size and worldwide influence, he responded with a tongue-in-cheek but potent answer. "It's a little strange, but it's not a big deal," he said. "The Oscars are not an international film festival. They're very local." Hollywood is a big-business tiny town, and its awards body is never going to be the answer to the public's prayers. It's our job, by buying tickets and being thoughtful consumers, to show it what to think—not the other way around. ◻

ROUNDUP

Fresh reads for February

By Annabel Gutterman

A crop of new books this month asks readers to consider their roots. Some of the authors of February's most anticipated releases mine their histories to understand how the places they come from have shaped who they are. Others craft narratives that explore the complications that come with moving away but never on from the past. Some voices, like Clare Beams and R. Eric Thomas, are emerging. Others, like veterans Colum McCann and Erik Larson, are celebrated. All are exploring how attachments to home define the contours of our lives.

DJINN PATROL ON THE PURPLE LINE

DEEPA ANAPPARA

In journalist Anappara's first novel, a 9-year-old crime-show fanatic attempts to find his missing classmate. Jai and his two friends search all over the smoggy, unnamed Indian city where children keep disappearing, devastating the community. Though the premise is bleak—there are thousands of real cases of missing children in Indian cities—the protagonist's youthful perspective makes a moving case for perseverance and hope. *(Feb. 4)*

BROTHER & SISTER

DIANE KEATON

The Academy Award–winning actor intimately describes loving and living with a troubled sibling, tracing her childhood with her brother Randy. Though they were close as kids, their paths diverged in adulthood: Randy struggled with alcoholism and mental illness, while Keaton rose to prominence in the film industry. Illustrating years they spent both together and apart, Keaton showcases the difficulties of loving someone you can never fully understand. *(Feb. 4)*

THE ILLNESS LESSON

CLARE BEAMS

After a strange flock of birds flies into town in Beams' debut novel, the students at an all-girls school in 19th century Massachusetts begin to develop headaches, rashes and odd sleepwalking habits. As they grow sicker, a doctor with a questionable track record is invited to campus, his presence underlining a timely conversation about who claims control of women's bodies. *(Feb. 11)*

A MAP IS ONLY ONE STORY

NICOLE CHUNG AND MENSAH DEMARY (EDITORS)

How do we define home? The 20 voices in this essay collection seek to articulate what it feels like to live between cultures. From stories about being undocumented in the U.S. to living on the border with Mexico, these personal narratives delve into the challenges—and power—that we derive from our connections to place. *(Feb. 11)*

SHUGGIE BAIN

DOUGLAS STUART

In his debut novel, Stuart focuses on a working-class family living in 1980s Glasgow,

where alcoholism threatens the unit's stability and sanity. He narrows in on struggling mother Agnes and her youngest son Shuggie, who is coming to terms with his sexuality. Stuart charts the evolution of their relationship over several years, offering a heartbreaking story about identity, addiction and abandonment. *(Feb. 11)*

AMNESTY
ARAVIND ADIGA
The Booker Prize winner's latest novel follows house cleaner Danny, who fled Sri Lanka and is living undocumented in Australia. Danny faces an impossible dilemma after learning critical details about the murder of one of his clients. If he speaks up, the life he worked so hard to build could be threatened, but if he stays silent, the truth may never come to light. The novel takes place over the course of one day, but Danny's decision highlights a lifetime of real-world anxieties. *(Feb. 18)*

REAL LIFE
BRANDON TAYLOR
At the center of this aching debut is Wallace, a gay black graduate student at an overwhelmingly white Midwestern university. Over the course of a summer weekend, Wallace unveils the pain he's been carrying his whole life through several interactions with his friends, who understand little about where he comes from. As Taylor exposes the layers of his protagonist's existence, he crafts a gripping narrative on racism, queerness and trauma. *(Feb. 18)*

HERE FOR IT
R. ERIC THOMAS
What does it mean to belong? Thomas poses this question throughout his essay collection as he explores all the places he never fit in, from his conservative black church to the primarily white school he attended. With humor and heart, he dissects the experience of being black and gay in America, simultaneously inspecting the ways the country is evolving. *(Feb. 18)*

THE SPLENDID AND THE VILE
ERIK LARSON
When Winston Churchill became Prime Minister in 1940, Britain was about to endure a very violent year: Adolf Hitler's bombing campaign would kill more than 40,000 citizens. Larson delves into the impact of those 12 months on Churchill and his family, painting a complex portrait of leadership and determination in the midst of chaos and fear. *(Feb. 25)*

APEIROGON
COLUM MCCANN
After both their daughters are brutally murdered, a Palestinian and an Israeli bond over their enormous losses. Inspired by the true friendship between Bassam Aramin and Rami Elhanan, the latest novel from the National Book Award winner blends fiction with history to examine how two men channel their grief into political power as they become advocates for peace in the Middle East. *(Feb. 25)*

MINOR FEELINGS
CATHY PARK HONG
Hong dissects her experiences as an Asian American to create an intricate meditation on racial awareness in the U.S. Through a combination of cultural criticism and personal stories, Hong, a poet, lays bare the shame and confusion she felt in her youth as the daughter of Korean immigrants, and the way those feelings morphed as she grew older. From analyzing Richard Pryor's stand-up to interrogating her relationship with the English language, Hong underscores essential themes of identity and otherness. *(Feb. 25)*

Diane Keaton has written three titles, in addition to editing and publishing multiple books on photography

TV's newest Cinderella (Hale), resplendent in Katy Keene couture

REVIEW

Greg Berlanti's fairy tale of New York

By Judy Berman

NOBODY'S PERFECT, BUT KATY KEENE comes close. A lovely young New York native, she spends her days charming VIPs in the personal-shopping department of a Bergdorfesque emporium called Lacy's. By night, she's a budding designer, banging out whimsical pink and red garments—dramatic capes, smart bouclé dresses—for herself on a sewing machine that's been in her family for generations. She lives in a big, shabby-chic apartment with two other aspiring artists and parties at the club where K.O. Kelly (Zane Holtz), the chiseled sweetheart who's been her boyfriend since high school, works as a bouncer.

On paper, she sounds kind of cloying. But the breezy *Riverdale* spin-off *Katy Keene* is a fairy tale—and every fairy tale needs its princess. Thankfully, Lucy Hale *(Pretty Little Liars)* makes an unusually appealing one. A stylized update of a decades-old Archie Comics character, her Katy also embodies the best traits of every idealized TV career woman: Carrie Bradshaw without the empty philosophizing, Midge Maisel without the baggage, a Mary Richards for our time.

Oh, she faces some adversity as a working-class girl seeking her fortune in high fashion. Her snooty co-workers have it out for her. Their boss (Katherine LaNasa) is a Prada-wearing devil. She starts to question what she has with K.O.

Yet Katy isn't the only Cinderella in this story. Her roommate Jorge (Jonny Beauchamp) has a drag alter ego, Ginger, and Broadway dreams but faces antifemme prejudice. New arrival Josie (Ashleigh Murray), late of the Pussycats, a wannabe rocker from Riverdale, meets a music-industry heartthrob. Their pal Pepper (Julia Chan), an It girl with secrets, is somewhat out of place in this wide-eyed world. But her darker story line is such soapy fun, I didn't care.

Each show in megaproducer Greg Berlanti's Archie franchise combines retro aesthetics with deep cultural literacy. This latest escapist mixture is a little bit *Fame* and a little bit *Felicity,* with big "summer of scam" energy and singalong musical numbers. Less about finding your Prince Charming than about realizing your dreams without losing your soul, *Katy Keene* is a blissful fairy tale for a new decade.

KATY KEENE *premieres Feb. 6 on the CW*

REVIEW

A big McScam

Wanna feel old *and* disillusioned? It was way back in 1987 that McDonald's joined forces with Monopoly for a series of smash-hit promotions in which game pieces pasted to food packaging offered shots at prizes of up to $1 million. And for 12 years, an ex-cop, who ran security for the firm contracted to administer the contest, was rigging it in a bananas self-enrichment scheme. All told, he and his many accomplices siphoned off $24 million.

As recounted in a 2018 Daily Beast article for which Ben Affleck and Matt Damon swiftly snapped up the film rights, it's a fascinating, often funny caper, all corporate cluelessness, desperate characters and FBI operations disguised as film shoots. But like so many docuseries born out of the true-crime boom, HBO's *McMillions*—a six-part exploration of the scam—overplays its hand. Episodes end on true cliff-hangers but overflow with filler; mundane events are recounted in detail. The story sometimes moves too slowly, and insight proves elusive in the three episodes sent for review. *McMillions* could've been a great doc, if only its makers had learned from their subjects not to get greedy. *—J.B.*

MCMILLIONS *premieres Feb. 3 on HBO*

Twenty-one people were indicted as part of the case

KATY KEENE: BARBARA NITKE—THE CW; MCDONALD'S: GETTY IMAGES

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8 Questions

Jenny Han The YA author on the film adaptation of her *To All the Boys* trilogy, the power of rom-coms and her best love advice

P.S. *I Still Love You* picks up where the previous book left off. Your main character, Lara Jean, has a boyfriend, but now finds herself feeling insecure. How do you get into the mindset of a teenager? I really don't approach it any differently than when I'm writing for adults. It's all just a human experience—and you can feel insecure about your relationship and be thinking about his past girlfriends when you're 40 years old. It's approaching those "teenage" emotions with the same respect and seriousness as you would for an adult love story.

There are a lot of firsts in *P.S. I Still Love You*. First boyfriends, first dates. What's a memorable first for you? Everything went wrong on the night of my first dance. I was 15 or 16, and my date got into a car accident on the way. After, he was shaken up, so he drove really slowly. He parked really far away from the dance and it was raining so hard. We walked all the way up to the school, and a low-hanging branch knocked me in the head. I have pictures of myself from that night and I have a mark on my forehead. Oh, and when we got to school, he realized he left the tickets in the car.

Romantic comedies are having a comeback, but they were long criticized for perpetuating stereotypes. How do you address those concerns? Even though we see Lara Jean's personal growth, she's still who she is from the beginning to the end. Being in a relationship or meeting a guy, those weren't the things that changed her. It was more of her opening up and having her world get a bit bigger. It was important for me to see that representation of not changing your whole self just to be with somebody.

Lana Condor, an Asian-American actor, plays the lead. Where do you still see a need for progress in representation in the movies? I want to hear from people we haven't heard from before. I hope that's where this is going, and that the representation will just get wider. Not just with race, but with size and sexuality. There's so much more to explore.

"I WANT TO HEAR FROM PEOPLE WE HAVEN'T HEARD FROM BEFORE"

What was your high school experience like? I had a really great time in high school. I went to a magnet school. If you were cool, you were still like a nerd. And it was a really diverse school. So I felt like going into it, I just learned so much about other cultures that I never would have known about if I had stayed in my regular school.

How do you use social media to reach your readers, and what are those interactions like? I feel very close to them and worried for them. It's hard sometimes to even read some of their questions because I feel scared for them. There are so many hard aspects of being on social media, but one of the really positive ones is that you have a direct line to talk to your readers and connect, and to me, storytelling is all about connecting with people.

Do a lot of young people come to you for love advice? Yes, and not just young people—even people in their 30s. I love giving advice. I'm just careful because I don't want to give the wrong advice. I try to be honest and not tell people just what they want to hear, but what I think is right. A lot of their questions are like, "Am I weird?"

How do you answer that? I say no! I say: You're not weird. Everything you're doing is just right. And don't feel pressure to do something if you're not quite ready for it yet, or if you haven't met that right person. It's all in your own time.

—ANNABEL GUTTERMAN

EMMA MCINTYRE—GETTY IMAGES

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